

# America

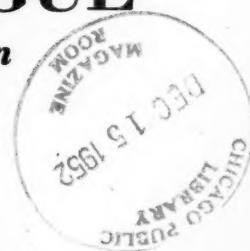
December 20, 1952  
Vol. 88, Number 12

NATIONAL CATHOLIC WEEKLY REVIEW

## PURGE IN PRAGUE

*Communism devours its own*

JOSEPH SADLIK



**Our ex-Presidents:  
a look at the record**

*Mr. Truman will join a distinguished company*

BATES M. STOVALL

## Controlling lewd literature

AN EDITORIAL



**Topics:** Eisenhower in Korea . . . Treaty crisis in Bonn . . . Subversives in the UN . . . New York water-front crime . . . Communist anti-Semitism . . . Catholic "separatism" . . . Financial aid to colleges . . . Dutch propose limitation of sovereignty

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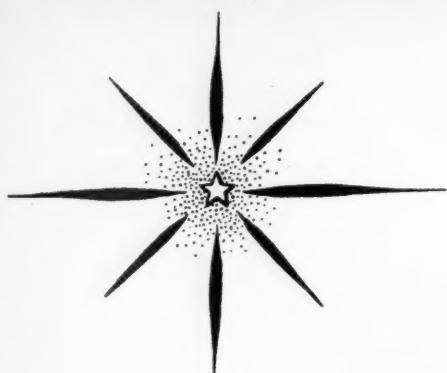
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*L*et us go over to Bethlehem,  
and see this thing  
that has come to pass, which the  
Lord has made known to us.

St. Luke 2:15



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### **Eisenhower sees for himself**

On Friday morning, Dec. 5, the word flashed from Tokyo that General Eisenhower had left the United States the previous Saturday and had already completed his promised trip to Korea. The President-elect had flown 10,836 miles to reach the battlefield. En route and in Korea he had conferred with every top Army, Navy and Air Force commander in the Far East, with diplomats and the heads of the South Korean Government. After seeing the situation in Korea at first hand Mr. Eisenhower made one thing abundantly clear: there would be no withdrawal from the peninsula. He was less definite about specific measures to end the war. Said Mr. Eisenhower in his December 5 press conference in Seoul:

How difficult it seems to be in a war of this kind to work out a plan that would bring a definite and positive victory without possibly running a grave risk of enlarging the war. There are many limitations on a war of this kind.

Apparently the General does not believe that throwing caution to the winds and extending the war into China is the way out. Neither is he content with the present deadlock. "Much can be done, in my opinion, to improve our position—that much will be done." Beyond that, Mr. Eisenhower is not, of course, tipping his hand. Before he can make a definite decision on a course of action, the General must fit the lessons he learned at the battlefield into the much larger picture of the world anti-Communist struggle. That seemed to be the purpose of the secret Eisenhower conferences with five of his Cabinet appointees and advisers aboard the homewardbound U.S.S. *Helena*. We can expect no revealing statements about future plans from these meetings, either. What we do know is that the new Administration has "no panaceas," and is making every effort to learn all it can about our far-flung commitments before taking office.

### **NAM convention**

The biggest convention in the fifty-seven-year history of the National Association of Manufacturers gathered in New York on Dec. 3, for the annual three-day confab on the business life of the nation. Over 3,000 industrialists attended, representing a good cross-section of the 18,500 association members, whose plants employ over 75 per cent of American industrial labor and produce more than 80 per cent of the country's manufactured goods. Convention orators, obviously happy about the November elections, called for lower taxes, less labor-union power and more freedom for the individual worker, less Government regulation of business. Most of the speakers interpreted the Republican victory as a public reaction against "socialism" and a mandate for another try at "free enterprise." Gen. Douglas MacArthur, now chairman of the board of Remington Rand, Inc., summed up the main theme of the convention oratory when he called upon the Eisenhower Administration to repair the free enter-

## **CURRENT COMMENT**

prise system after the "Marxism-inspired" damage of the past twenty years. Other speakers stressed the social responsibility that went with the new opportunity for business leadership. Earl Bunting, NAM managing director, warned that "self-interest dictates the highest order of industrial statesmanship in the public interest." Failure to meet the challenge would mean a return to governmental paternalism.

### **... NAM's ideology**

If the convention expressed typical NAM views, one must conclude that its ideology has not notably changed. It puts its faith in the leadership of practical, hard-headed businessmen, people who have met payrolls. It exhorts them to a sense of social responsibility. It demands from government an environment of freedom and seems to rely on private agencies, working in this environment, to solve all our problems. Much as we admire businessmen who live up to their social responsibilities, history is not very reassuring in this area. What's more, there are hosts of problems, especially in the foreign field, where governments must deal with governments. The NAM's ideology still seems very one-sided.

### **What does the Fifth Amendment cover?**

On Dec. 5, UN Secretary General Trygve Lie dismissed nine members of his secretariat. All were Americans who had refused to tell the Senate subcommittee on internal security whether they were, or had ever been, Communists. They had invoked their rights under the Fifth Amendment on the grounds of possible self-incrimination. Lie thus served notice that he accepted the advice of the three-man panel of internationally known jurists who told him that refusal to answer such questions was cause for dismissal from the international organization. Amendment V, said the panel, protects the accused in criminal cases but does not render him immune from all the possible ill consequences of his use of that privilege. This view was apparently sanctioned by the International Monetary Fund, which on Dec. 3 announced the resignation of Frank Coe, who had been secretary of the organization from its inception in 1946. Coe, too, had refused to tell the Senate subcommittee about any past Communist affiliations. The panel's interpretation of the meaning of the Fifth Amendment has not yet won

the entire approval of the legal profession, some of whose members criticize it as jeopardizing the rights of the innocent. The Fifth Amendment, however, while assuring immunity from criminal prosecution, does not suspend our prudential judgment. And Mr. Lie's prudential judgment could quite reasonably be that Americans who refuse to clear themselves of Communist affiliations are not fit UN employes. Apart from the hundreds of U. S. citizens employed by the UN as stenographers, clerks, etc., some 377 are in professional categories. About 26 of these have been dismissed so far. They say 14 more may incur dismissal. So informed estimates place the number of dubious personnel at over one-tenth, which is very high.

#### **Dutch redefine sovereignty**

The Second Chamber (lower house) of the Dutch Parliament made international legal history Dec. 2. By a vote of 66-7, it approved the second reading of constitutional amendments which authorize the transfer of important governmental powers to international organizations "in case the development of the international juridical order requires it." Even if the "agreements" in question conflict with the Dutch Constitution, they become the law of the land if ratified by two-thirds of the members of both houses present and voting. The First Chamber (Senate) is expected to concur with the lower house at an early date. This will be the first time a government has amended its constitution to acknowledge that "the international juridical order" may at times take precedence over its own basic law. Coming so shortly after the new constitutions of France, Italy, India and the West German Republic all made provision for the limitation of their sovereignty in the cause of peace, the daring decision of the Dutch has the effect of casting Great Britain and the United States with the Soviet Union as the last major defenders of absolute sovereignty. It also inspires any number of intriguing questions. Why did the drafters of the amendments, who worked for two years on their job, choose the Dutch word for "agreements" instead of that for "treaties"? How do the amendments contrast with those Senator Bricker asked for in the last Congress—and will undoubtedly ask for again—to curtail the treaty-making powers of

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the Executive? Have the Dutch really devised a "new" definition of sovereignty, as some say, or have they just resurrected the true one? Finally, what arguments did the Catholic members of the lower house use when they voted against absolute sovereignty? We must wait for more space—and more news from the Netherlands—before trying to answer.

#### **Ratification at Bonn deferred**

When the two treaties that will bind West Germany politically and militarily to the West passed their second reading in the Bundestag (the lower house) on Dec. 6 by the safe margin of fifty votes, it was a sure thing that Chancellor Adenauer could have immediately and successfully pressed on to the third and final reading and consequent ratification. However, he had announced on Dec. 4 that he would not ask for the third reading until "early next year." The reason: opponents of the treaties declare that they violate the German Constitution (written under the assumption that Germany is not to be armed) and that, even if they are constitutional, they cannot be passed by a simple majority in the Bundesrat (the upper house). If a two-thirds majority is needed, Adenauer would probably be defeated. Accordingly the Chancellor was determined to have the two constitutional questions settled before the third reading, so that the ratification would not be nullified by a legal technicality. On Dec. 9, however, the shrewd tactic backfired when the Federal Constitutional Court decreed that the Court as a whole would have to decide the constitutional question, instead of leaving it to the section of the court to which Adenauer had directed his request. Since the Court as a whole seems to disagree with the Chancellor's position, he will either withdraw his request for the constitutional decision and press for the third reading on the treaties, or perhaps introduce a bill for the "reform" of the Court. In either case the future of the treaties is rocky. The delay may give Adenauer's domestic opponents time to step up their offensive and encourage the French to dawdle with their ratification of the treaties. Meanwhile the United States and Britain hope for Adenauer's success.

#### **Red anti-Semitism**

The blatant anti-Semitism displayed by the Communist prosecutors during the purge trial in Prague, Nov. 21-27, of Rudolf Slansky and other top Czech Reds has evoked much speculation among commentators. Joseph Sadlik, in his article in this issue, "Purge in Prague," sees it as another manifestation of the Communists' drive against all religions and all ideologies that respect individual rights and freedoms. In our literature section, Dr. Bohdan Chudoba, reviewing (p. 333) Dana Adams Schmidt's *Anatomy of a Satellite*, sees it as part of the struggle between "the ideologists who knew their Marx," many of whom were Jews, and "the blind tools of the Kremlin bosses." James Reston, in the *New York Times* for Nov. 27, pointed out that Red anti-Semitism, unlike Hitler's, is not

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biological but intellectual. Stalin fears Jewish ideas and culture, for these dilute the Jews' loyalty to Moscow. Mr. Reston also points out that in beginning the campaign in Czechoslovakia, which has fewer Jews and has been less anti-Semitic than neighboring satellites, Stalin is warning all the minorities behind the Iron Curtain “to reserve their loyalties—all their loyalties—for the Communist faith.”

#### *... a tactical blunder?*

Many commentators see in this Red anti-Semitism an attempt to exploit Israel-Arab tensions in favor of Moscow, even if it means jettisoning Communist professions of devotion to racial equality. Such a tactic, the N. Y. *Herald Tribune* pointed out editorially on Dec. 9, could be very costly. The Reds have already shocked India by their crude rejection of Premier Nehru's proposals on Korea as “sickening hypocrisy.” Their anti-Semitism will intensify that shock and alienate many Europeans who may have been wavering towards “neutralism.” And more level-headed Arab leaders, seeing the fate of the Jews, may well wonder just how much Stalin's friendship is worth.

#### **Hungary's church estates**

Visitors to Hungary in former years often marveled at the immense extent of the Church's landed wealth under the Crown of St. Stephen and under the Government that had succeeded it. The diocese of Esztergom (Gran) in particular was pointed out as possibly the wealthiest diocese in the world. These vast possessions attached to dioceses, monasteries and even to individual parishes, gave some scandal in modern times, particularly in Hungary's reduced condition after the First World War. Regardless of whether they worked any tangible hardship on anyone, the Church's possessions were an obvious target for the Communist revolution. Yet these lands were originally bestowed upon the Church in Hungary, as in Mexico and many other countries, so that the Church could freely pursue her work for souls and carry on her educational task without being obliged to beg from benefactors. It is significant therefore that a recent Vatican Radio broadcast has indicated that the Catholic Church does not expect the pre-war Church status in Hungary to be restored in all respects when that country eventually is liberated. Specifically, the commentator is quoted as saying, there is no requirement that the Church get back her ecclesiastical estates. More modern methods, he said, can supply the material means needed to carry on the Church's work. The “prime duty” of the faithful in Communist Hungary will be “to restore to the Catholic Church and the Protestants their full freedom of action,” and the prime issue will remain in the future as in the past the freedom of the Church's schools. This clarification of Vatican policy is another indication that what the Church is seeking in Church-State relations is neither political power nor wealth, but simply the freedom to do the work with which God has charged her.

#### **NEW YORK PORT'S LAST CHANCE**

From 1946 to 1951 the percentage of ocean-borne general foreign-trade cargo handled by the Port of New York, compared to the total handled by all U. S. ports, has steadily declined from 37.9 to 31.9, a falling off amounting to one-sixth of its relative tonnage. Since 1948, the six investigations into the causes of this decline can all be classified as futile.

In the past two weeks, however, for the first time in fifty years, a *real* investigation seemed to be under way. Six weeks of public hearings on the corrupt conditions of the world's greatest water front were begun by the N. Y. State Crime Commission.

The commission's objectives are twofold: 1) to expose the deeply embedded organized crime which costs the public \$350 million a year (as estimated by Spruille Braden, Chairman of the N. Y. City Anti-Crime Commission); and 2) to make recommendations to the State Legislature for workable solutions.

There are five major interests in N. Y. Harbor: 1) the steamship lines; 2) the stevedoring companies which load and unload cargo under contract with the steamship companies; 3) the leadership of the International Longshoremen's Association (AFL) and the various mobs that dominate the port; 4) the governmental agencies (city, State and Federal) which have specific jurisdictions in the harbor; and 5) the longshoremen, the main victims of the rackets.

In the first four days of testimony, the commission was well on its way to establish:

a) That the steamship companies submit to mob dictation over their dock supervisory personnel.

b) That large stevedoring concerns pay cash “presents” to both steamship and union officials in order to procure contracts and keep labor peace. One firm paid out almost \$500,000 in five years.

c) That the leadership of the ILA is too closely associated with gangsters and company officials to represent the longshoremen the way a legitimate trade union should. One firm admitted paying \$1,500 a year over the past five years to the president of the ILA.

On the fifth day the commission seemed to be going into the political phase of the docks. It looked into the deplorable conditions on the Jersey City water front. One firm lost \$500,000 in two “political” strikes over so-called public loading rights in the years 1949-50.

The longshoremen themselves fear the “little guys” will be sacrificed to protect higher-ups, with the mob setup emerging stronger than ever, and that SCC will pay too much heed to the myopic defense of the “shape-up” hiring system by stevedoring and steamship officials. They want William J. McCormack to explain his approval of previous erroneous public reports to the Mayor.

JOHN M. CORRIDAN

*Fr. Corridan, S.J., is Asst. Director of Xavier Institute of Industrial Relations, N.Y.C. On Dec. 10 racketeers fired a warning shot into the home of an anti-racketeer dock-worker member of the Institute.*

## WASHINGTON FRONT

The anti-Zionist purge in Czechoslovakia is a particularly violent manifestation of the behind-the-Iron Curtain troubles which John Foster Dulles has insisted privately and publicly for years should be yielding vastly more important dividends for the free world than has been the case. It is an area of activity in which, under the direction of the new Secretary of State, a whole new program may be outlined after the Eisenhower Administration takes over.

The Dulles thesis has been that in Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Ukraine, Red China and wherever else it is feasible, the United States and its allies should be exploiting much more fully the anti-Communist sentiment and the divisions which frequent reports over the years have shown to exist. This was a basic element of General Eisenhower's early campaign speech contending that there should be an affirmative policy, going beyond mere containment of communism, which offers some hope to the peoples of these Moscow-dominated lands. The proposal at that time drew a quick reply from Messrs. Truman and Acheson that such talk was dangerous. Mr. Eisenhower subsequently stressed the fact that he had been talking about exploiting anti-Communist feeling by peaceful means only. Mr. Dulles himself has emphasized this, too.

The prospect doesn't mean violent revolution, the new Secretary of State has said, but use of such "quiet" means as passive resistance, non-cooperation, slow-downs and sabotage. He visualizes a much more vigorous role for the Voice of America and has even talked of the possibility of airdrops to aid such peoples.

In the past, the State Department has contended it would be tragic to stir people to active opposition to the Communist regimes, and to raise their hopes of American aid in what could turn out to be abortive attempts toward freedom, with the possibility of terrible reprisal. But Mr. Dulles isn't urging any quick triggering. He talks in terms of results that may take five or ten years to achieve. He does insist that much more be done than has been done. It is possible, he has argued, for the Soviet empire to be disintegrated from within because it is overextended.

The Korean war and what to do about it has precedence over every other consideration with Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles, of course. Korea is where men are dying; Korea was made the No. 1 issue by Eisenhower himself in the election campaign. But Mr. Dulles has said the General is "determined" to do more about exploiting the Communists' own troubles at home as the beginning of resistance movements in these countries, and the assumption is that some move in this direction will be taken after he comes to Washington next month.

CHARLES LUCEY

## UNDERSCORINGS

*Christian Christmas Observance.* The movement to restore Christ to Christmas is spreading. From Nov. 8 to Nov. 29 this column reported, from 14 U. S. cities, activities by civic and religious groups aimed at bringing home to the public the true significance of the feast. Similar activities are being carried on in Milwaukee, Wis., Columbia, S. C., Chicago and Rockford, Ill., Toledo and Cincinnati, Ohio, La Junta, Colo., Fresno, Calif., Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and Allentown, Pa., Memphis, Tenn., Detroit, Mich., Baton Rouge, La., and Manchester, N. H.

► Weapons against Communism (12 Park Terrace, Yonkers 5, N. Y.) has recorded three half-hour talks by Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, Victor Riesel, nationally syndicated labor columnist, and Dr. Paul Fabry, former member of the Hungarian Parliament. Bishop Sheen discusses the philosophy of communism. Mr. Riesel shows how the Communists have enslaved the Russian workers and how they try to infiltrate the U. S. labor movement. Dr. Fabry tells how the Communists took over Hungary. The records are suitable for playing at meetings, classes, luncheons, etc. Standard speed, \$6 each; long-playing, \$3 each.

► Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., contributing editor of AMERICA, has been made a professor emeritus of Catholic University, Washington, D. C. Fr. Parsons, who became Professor of Politics at C. U. in 1940, was honored at a luncheon on Dec. 6. Most Rev. Patrick J. McCormick (Rector), Msgr. Jerome D. Hannan (Vice Rector) and Rev. James A. Magner (Ass't. Treas.) joined members of the faculty in honoring the former Editor-in-Chief of this Review, now at Georgetown.

► Seminarians from St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, Yonkers 4, N. Y., will conduct a one-day forum on "Christian Dynamics" Jan. 3, 1953 at St. Francis Xavier High School, 30 West 16th St., New York 11. Topics will include "The Intellectual Apostolate," "Liturgy and Worship," "Interracial Justice," "Rural Life," etc. All college men in the metropolitan area are invited to take part in the forum.

► The Society of St. Paul (2187 Victory Blvd., Staten Island 14, N. Y.) has just published Vol. I, No. 1 of *Pastoral Life*, a bimonthly magazine for priests. It is digest-size, runs 30-40 pages and is designed to focus attention on the practical problems of the priest's daily ministry. Yearly, \$1.50; 4 years, \$5.

► University Microfilms (313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Mich.) now has available volumes 84 and 85 of AMERICA on one roll of film. It covers from Oct., 1950 through Sept., 1951 and costs \$5.40. Vols. 82 and 83 are also available, and future volumes will be filmed as they appear. Those wishing to have earlier volumes filmed should write University Microfilms. C. K.

## Controlling lewd literature

The House of Representatives Select Committee on Pornographic Materials, which had been investigating the means of damming the flow of obscene, lewd and indecent books, comics and magazines, wound up its hearings on December 5. If the Committee did no more, it at least made the headlines of the nation's press. But it would seem that more was done. Suggestions were at any rate offered that can go far toward correcting a great social evil.

Civic leaders, police officials, clergymen, educators were unanimous in declaring before the committee that the flood of this lewd literature has reached alarming proportions. The observation of any attentive person, as he passes the corner newsstand, will confirm this fact. Some publishers (mainly of pocket-size books) would not, as we might expect, admit before the Committee that any of *their* books were indecent. In general, however, there was a gratifying agreement by all whom the committee heard that something has to be done.

But what can be done? No one at the hearings called for out-and-out censorship, Federal or otherwise. Instead, the following steps were called for and will probably be recommended to the Congress in the committee's report: 1) the establishment of an industry-wide code of ethics to which all publishers will voluntarily submit (*i.e.*, separate codes for books and magazines); 2) the extension of the Federal law so as to cover shipment of obscene material by all methods of transport, and not only by common carriers—the railroads and express agencies (such extension had been acted on by the Senate before its recent adjournment; the House has tabled the proposal); 3) continuance of "alerting public opinion" by such groups as the House committee.

The establishment of a code is desirable, but this proposal doesn't go far enough. Perhaps most of the pocket-book publishers would join, even those whose products are part good, part trash. But in the magazine field, such a code would really be meaningless, for the worst offenders (the "girly" magazines) can only be corrected out of existence. The very reason for their being is to titillate and seduce.

The second point is something practical. Laws, both Federal and state, already exist which prohibit the transportation of obscene material. But they must be broadened to hit transportation "by any means whatever." *Distribution* is the key to the problem because most of the cheaper and more flagrant magazines would fold up overnight if the publisher could not get them distributed cheaply.

Here special attention ought to be paid to the so-called national independent distributors. They are distributors other than the American News Company, which, though it is not entirely lily-pure, does relatively little distribution of questionable material. But the independents have a horrible record. The Kable News Company, for instance, distributes *Dare*, *Photo Arts*,

## EDITORIALS

*Sexology, Frolic, Nifty, Pack o' Fun, Wham, Zip and Studio Sketches.* The Publishers' Distributing Company handles *Night and Day, Beauty Parade, Cover Girl Models, Eyeful, Fun Parade, Glamorous Models, Titter, Whisper and Wink*. These are all offensive, and they are but a fraction of the stuff that is handled by the fourteen or more national independent distributors. It is regrettable that no representative of the independents was called before the committee.

A second step that would hit the distribution problem would be laws that prohibit "block distribution," a practise adopted by some independent distributors. Under this system, a newsdealer must take a group of magazines *en masse*. To get the good ones he must take the salacious as well. This is analogous to the "block booking" of movies, which was outlawed in New York State, for example, by court action in 1946. Decent-minded newsdealers, to be sure, adopt the policy of simply not displaying the objectionable material they are forced to take, but they do so at no small inconvenience to themselves, because their undisplayed stock may represent a tied-up investment of no mean size. Those dealers are penalized, in a word, who do not share the unscrupulous passion of the "block distributors" to get rich on filth.

But Federal and State laws will probably not be enough. What is needed to reduce them to effect is a local civic sense. After the laws have been tightened, with special attention to the distribution problem, each community ought to have a local advisory body to counsel mayor and police as to what publications are indecent, and therefore subject to the laws.

This committee ought to be made up of representative people from all faiths and professions, so that there will rise no frantic cries of censorship by one or other interested party. Such a group would be more than enough to discomfit the "authority" of the "experts" in art, literature, and so on, who have in the past blocked the evident desires of decent citizens. The general good sense of decent people will decide pretty well what is indecent in books and magazines if they are given the chance to judge.

After such a committee has advised the mayor and the law enforcement authorities, then, armed with more stringent laws, they could make some effective inroads on the filth that pullulates today on U. S. newsstands.

Such a plan, or a variation of it, has been working well in Detroit. There is no reason why it cannot work in every U. S. city that is alert to the problem and determined to solve it.

## Catholic "separatism"

In the *Commonweal* for December 12, John Cogley discussed the difficult problem of what he described as "the relations between American Catholics and American eggheads." ("Egghead" seems to be synonymous with "intellectual.") Mr. Cogley took the position that "Catholics have huddled together" and built up a "ghetto culture" in this country. He instanced our having set up "every manner of Catholic academic society" paralleling secular counterparts as an illustration of our tendency to separatism. Thus "Catholics are cut off from the general cultural scene."

The existing situation, as a matter of fact, is much more varied than Mr. Cogley has allowed. The danger of separatism, though real, has been consciously averted in many fields.

As regards academic societies, U. S. Catholics have adopted different policies in different fields. In the various physical sciences and in psychology, for example, our impression is that Catholics have, in general, kept separatism at a minimum. In history, there is a Catholic Historical Association, but it is very well integrated with the American Historical Association. The former's annual meeting is part of the program of the latter's. On what is at present only a token scale, the same is true in political science. The Institute of Social Order holds a small annual dinner for Catholic political scientists which is part of the program of the American Political Science Association. This dinner has actually attracted Catholics to attend the APSA meetings, which was one of its purposes. In literature generally, Catholics attend the meetings of the Modern Language Association.

We do have a Catholic Economic Association. But here again the practice has been to convene with the multi-association meeting sponsored by the American Economic Association.

The case is different with the National Catholic Educational Association. Here the reasons for a separate organization are compelling, if only on account of the number in attendance. The American Catholic Sociological Society is more or less "separatist," too, and again, one can see, for cogent reasons.

There are often great advantages to Catholic counterparts of secular academic societies, advantages connected with the need for cultural cooperation with seculars. First, they help greatly to foster true professionalism among Catholic scholars. Secondly, they help to develop the Catholic side of the sciences in question. Lastly, they give Catholics standing in a field and make available to secular scholars a body of Catholic thought in it. They earn respect for Catholic scholarship, just as the *Commonweal* earns respect for Catholic journalism.

"Separatism," unless rigidly imposed on Catholic academic societies by their secular counterparts (as sometimes happens), is therefore more a manageable danger than an inherent evil in existing U. S. academic societies, taken as a whole.

## Grants to colleges

The nation's private institutions of higher learning are in a tight squeeze between mounting operating costs and shrinking revenues. Revenues today are not meeting current needs. Inflation has more than halved income from endowments, and the day is now past when benefactors with large private fortunes could be counted on to make up the difference. A *New York Times* survey at the beginning of the 1951-52 school year reported that 50 per cent of the private colleges in the United States are operating at a deficit.

If Americans want private colleges and universities to keep their doors open, they must face squarely the problem of supporting them. To raise student fees, is impractical. Though fees are already high—too high—they pay considerably less than half the cost of education. Raising them would cut off all but the economically privileged student.

Three other possible sources of revenue remain: the Federal Government, the foundations and business corporations. They alone possess wealth enough to cope with the needs of private higher education.

Government contributions to research projects have grown in the past few years. Benjamin Fine, education editor of the *New York Times*, reporting December 7 on a current survey, estimates that the Federal Government will grant \$300 million to colleges during this academic year for research projects. Probably better than \$200 million of it will go to private institutions. One big complaint against Government giving is that it concentrates support on the physical sciences to the virtual exclusion of the humanities and the social sciences. This tends to compromise the future supply of teachers and leaders in the social sciences. Many fear, too, that Government grants could ultimately be wedges to gain acceptance for the social and political views of the prevailing Administration. Educators might hesitate to criticize the very Government they depended on for survival.

Business corporations, under the law allowing a tax-free deduction of 5 per cent for charitable gifts, have a potential \$2.2 billion to distribute, at comparatively little cost to themselves. Though corporations gave only about \$60 million to higher education in 1951, this figure will very likely expand. Men like General Motor's Alfred P. Sloan Jr. have been urging corporations to make gifts to private liberal-arts colleges.

The NAM has endorsed the idea. That of course, brings up once more the question of the strings attached to corporation gifts. Will only those colleges qualify whose teaching pleases big business?

The foundations, whose potential contributions are small compared to those of Government and corporations, are currently under fire for allowing too much latitude in the use of grants to research. They are charged with having given aid to subversives. This charge illustrates some of the difficulties of handling large grants with responsibility and at the same time with respect for legitimate freedom.

# Purge in Prague

Joseph Sadlik

ON DECEMBER 3, Rudolf Slansky and ten other prominent Czech Communists were hanged in the courtyard of Pankrac Prison in Prague. They had been accused of, and had "confessed" to, treason, murder, espionage, sabotage and the usual litany of crimes that has been repeated so often by victims of Red purges. Three other defendants in the same trial were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Of those executed, Slansky had been Secretary General of the Communist party in Czechoslovakia; Vladimir Clementis had been Foreign Minister; Otto Sling had been a party leader in Brno; André Simone had been editor of the party organ *Rude Pravo*. The better to understand the meaning of this trial, let us take a closer look at the chief defendant, Rudolf Slansky.

His family name was always Slansky. Very often it was said that he was not even a Czech. Some believed that he was a German and his true surname was Salzmann.

There is no doubt about his origin. Slansky was the son of a Czech-Jewish family in a village near Pilsen, west of Prague. Born in 1901, he was sixteen when he heard about the Russian Revolution of October, 1917. He was Russophile, like so many of his countrymen, since his years at the High School in Pilsen. In 1920 he came to Prague and as a 19-year-old lad joined the Association of Marxists, an organization through whose influence most of today's prominent Czech Communist leaders became Marxists. There he met Kopecky, Zapotocky, Smeral and others. In 1925 he appeared in Ostrava, the industrial center in Moravia. His theoretical knowledge of Communist doctrine made him Editor-in-Chief of the Communist *Delnický Denník* ("Daily Worker").

During World War II, Slansky led the Central European section of Radio Moscow. In 1944, during the Slovak anti-German uprising, he came to Slovakia to represent the Communist party. Whenever and wherever anything happened for the increasing of Communist power, Slansky had a hand in it.

Slansky was Chief of Staff for the putsch of February, 1948 that clinched the Communists' grip on Czechoslovakia. Upon his order the so-called Workers Militia was mobilized. He organized the mass protest against the Democratic Ministers in Prague's Old Town Square on February 21, 1948. He gave the signal to the Communist fanatics and quislings in other parties to organize in factories, villages and towns

Mr. Sadlik, who received his doctor's degree from Charles University, Prague, worked with the Czechoslovak Broadcasting Corporation in that city, 1945-47. Editorial comment on one aspect of the purge trial he describes will be found on p. 318.

the Action Committees aimed at destroying the regular democratic public institutions and units of free local government.

Slansky was also behind the arrest of former Foreign Minister Vlado Clementis and Otto Sling, former Secretary of the party, in the early months of 1951. Hundreds of enterprises, mines and shock-worker brigades named themselves after Slansky.

As late as the end of last July, on the occasion of Slansky's fiftieth birthday, the President of the Czech Republic, Klement Gottwald, conferred on him the Order of Socialism for his services to the Communist regime. *Rude Pravo* carried a large picture of Slansky on its front page, along with congratulatory messages to him from President Gottwald, Prime Minister Antonin Zapotocky and other notables.

Yet within four months, by the end of November, he was in prison, and died December 3 a self-confessed murderer, spy, saboteur and traitor to the regime he had helped to clamp upon unhappy Czechoslovakia.

Why had all this to be done? What were the reasons for it? And what conclusions can be drawn from the trial?

With respect to the Czechoslovak people, the regime had mostly psychological reasons. The aim of the trial at Pankrac was to relieve the pressure caused by growing disillusionment among the population.

The economic situation of Czechoslovakia today is worse than immediately after the liberation, mainly due to the Russian exploitation of Czech industry. Czechoslovakia was the most civilized and industrialized of all the countries the Communists seized control of after 1945. The standard of living was comparatively very high. Now, seven and a half years after the liberation, potatoes are obtainable on ration coupons only, electricity is being cut off for a certain period each day, oranges are a strange, unknown fruit for most Czech children.

The trial had to serve as excuse for the regime before the Czech people. The trial had to say on behalf of Gottwald, Cepicka and others who still are in power: "Here we are, the fighters for your interests, your champions, vigilant leaders of the people. Those are the traitors, men who through their traitorous activities caused all the trouble you are in. Look at them: a former Deputy Premier, two former Deputy Ministers of Foreign Trade, the author of the two-year plan and the five-year plan. All of them are sabo-



teurs and agents of Western imperialism. Now that we have got rid of them, you will walk straight toward the prosperity of the fabulous age of socialism."

A similar justification of the Czech regime's failures is being offered to Moscow. Stalin said at the Congress of the Soviet Communist party at Moscow in October that "the people's democracies are the 'shock-brigades' of the Soviet Union." The Russian officers attached as "experts" to Czech army units, however, report growing resentment among the Czechoslovak soldiers. Czech Defense Minister Alexej Cepicka, Gottwald's son-in-law, put these words in the mouth of one of the accused, Otto Sling:

Our aim was to make impossible the creation of a new popular-democratic Army, to lower its fighting value and ensure its complete control by the conspiratorial center within the Army. I did this, in fact, with the help of bourgeois officers and generals . . . Needless to say, this activity and its supervision were in the hands of Rudolf Slansky.

The regimes of Communist-dominated countries are caught between the upper and the nether millstone. From the bottom, there is pressure by the people, whose bitterness and hate the Communist masters can feel very intensely. From above, the regime is pressed by the Kremlin's dictation. There come moments when this double pressure must be relieved, when somebody has to be found to serve as a scapegoat.

In Czechoslovakia this pressure and strain resulted in antagonism and rivalry between two groups within the party. Gottwald's group is now victorious, Slansky's has been destroyed. It could easily have been otherwise.

Besides these basic causes of the Prague spectacle there are several others of minor importance.

The free world's press emphasized the fact that for the first time international Communism used anti-Semitism as an official line. It seems, however, that the Communist attack against Judaism is only a step in the effort to destroy all traces of ideologies based on belief in God and respect for individual rights and freedoms.

The Communist judge in the Prague trial gave plenty of scope to bitter attacks on the Western world. This was represented as a decadent society governed by the selfish interests of a small group of capitalists. In the same way, the democratic past of Czechoslovakia was under attack. There was no mention of the Benes name without the preceding epithet "imperialist agent." In this respect, the still unextinguished democratic convictions of the Czech people were also part of the backdrop in front of which the trial had to be staged.

The trial is over. The names of fourteen leading Czech Communists have disappeared from public life. The average citizen of Czechoslovakia, once an island of democracy in the middle of Europe, watched the judicial farce with astonishment, abhorrence and dis-

gust. He can justly feel some satisfaction. His opposition, his strength, his silent persistence forced the hated Communist regime to crucify its own. The citizen, however, even if he once believed in Marxism-Leninism, is surrounded with terror. And terror breeds an apathy of mind that prompts one to obey those who are at the moment in power. This state of mind is satisfactory enough for the Communist regime. The Communists believe that material loyalty will eventually bring about a spiritual one.

The free world has a serious responsibility toward the captive populations of the Communist-dominated countries. The peoples under Communist tyranny must be encouraged not to despair, but to keep in mind the immense potential strength they have, the strength that brought Slansky and his fellows to the gallows in the courtyard of Pankrac Prison.

## ***Our ex-Presidents: a look at the record***

***Bates M. Stovall***

**T**HE CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATIONS that will take place next month raises once again the question: "What shall we do with our ex-Presidents?"

In attempting to furnish the answer, Senator Humphrey of Minnesota has introduced a bill in Congress to give an ex-President a seat in the Senate for life as a Senator-at-large, with a salary of \$15,000 annually and the right to address the Senate, but not to vote. President Truman would go further, for he maintains that an ex-Vice-President, as well as a former President, should have the right to address both the House and the Senate, but not to vote.

In the time of Rutherford B. Hayes, it was suggested that our ex-Presidents be given life senatorships. But Hayes declared: "This is, as I see it, wholly inadmissible . . . let the President when he leaves his office take a manly view of the situation. Let him become a [private] citizen again."

"To me," said Theodore Roosevelt,

there is something fine in the American theory that a private citizen can be chosen . . . to occupy a position as great as that of the mightiest monarch . . . and . . . then . . . leave it as an unpensioned private citizen who goes back into the ranks of his fellow citizens with entire self-respect, claiming nothing save what on his own individual merits he is entitled to receive.

After Cleveland's second term, one of his enemies suggested that ex-Presidents should be taken out onto

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*Mr. Stovall, who formerly practised law in the District of Columbia and Florida, is now a free-lance writer. He lives in Takoma Park, Md.*

five-acre lots and gotten rid of with a bullet. Cleveland replied that he could not agree to this method of solving the question, because five-acre lots were not needed for the job, and, moreover, ex-Presidents had suffered enough anyway.

Jefferson, Monroe and Grant are frequently held up as awful examples of what might be the fate of some of our ex-Presidents. Jefferson, it is true, was forced to sell his valuable library to Congress at a loss to pay off pressing debts. Later, he was about to sell some lands at lottery, but public subscriptions in his behalf made this step unnecessary. Monroe's finances reached the point where, it is claimed, he had to sell Oak Hill, his homestead in Loudon County, Virginia. His wife being dead, he then went to live with his daughter in New York City. Monroe repeatedly tried to get Congress to reimburse him for heavy expenses he had incurred while representing his country abroad. Lafayette wanted to help the ex-President by giving him some land the Frenchman had received from Congress, but Monroe declined. Eventually, Congress gave him \$30,000. Grant at one time was so hard up that he made over all his property to his creditors.

It will be remembered that both Jefferson and Monroe were in the White House when this nation wore swaddling clothes. The Chief Executive's salary was slim. Jefferson entertained profusely following his retirement from the Presidency, and Monroe was lax in financial matters and had been under heavy expense at one period before becoming President. Grant had a fortune of \$100,000 two years after quitting the White House. Wishing to increase it, he invested it with a Wall Street concern and became a special partner in the enterprise. Some of his associates turned dishonest and he was thoroughly fleeced.

The statement is sometimes made that most of our Presidents have been poorer when retiring from office than when taking over. Even if this was true in the past, it's hard to believe it applies today. Our Chief Executive now receives a salary of \$100,000 a year, plus an annual tax-free expense account of \$50,000 and a yearly allowance, not exceeding \$40,000, for traveling expenses and official entertainment. And, of course, there are other emoluments such as home, offices, yacht and such things.

Beginning with George Washington, most of our ex-Presidents have been comfortably situated financially. The Father of his Country was the wealthiest man of his time. When he retired from office he could say with assurance: "The remainder of my life . . . will be occupied with rural amusements." John Adams, at his death, left an estate of about \$100,000, if the properties already given by him to his children and to the town of Quincy are included. Tyler's finances

are shown by Buchanan's comment that this man had both "a belle and a fortune to crown and to close his Presidential career." And Buchanan knew what the word fortune meant. His charities were extensive and he saved many a person from financial ruin. Pierce saved half his salary and had \$78,000 carefully invested when he retired. And Cleveland at the end of his second term possessed \$300,000 to \$350,000 in assets. Theodore Roosevelt could afford to turn down an offer of \$100,000 for his African hunting stories by a certain magazine and accept one of \$50,000 from Scribner's because he felt it was a more dignified medium for his articles.

Farming was the chief livelihood for most of our early ex-Presidents, and they did well at it. Of these farmers, Madison was one of the most progressive. Although his chief income was from tobacco, he experimented with other products, including Merino sheep, which were new in this country at the time. Jackson had broad fields of cotton, in which he delighted almost as much as he did in fine horses. Tyler, at Sherwood Forest, his paradise on the James, had marked success with his wheat.

Benjamin Harrison, when the people decided he was no longer needed in Washington, became an eminent lawyer. His success in this practice has never been equaled by that of any other ex-President. Among his cases was the Venezuelan-British boundary dispute, submitted to the arbitration tribunal in Paris in 1899. Harrison's closing argument in behalf of his South American client was so masterful that before it was finished, opposing counsel told the British Government to prepare for an adverse verdict.

Cleveland was a godsend to sound life insurance. When a receivership loomed for the vast Equitable Life Assurance Society due to the sorry condition of its affairs, the ex-President's help was obtained by Thomas F. Ryan, holder of enough stock to cast a majority vote on all questions. Being made chairman of a board of trustees to vote Ryan's stock, Cleveland soon got the Equitable back on a sound footing. It was done so efficiently that three of the largest life insurance companies made Cleveland their referee in disputes concerning rebates of agents' commissions.

The lifetime ambition of William Howard Taft was to be Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court. His appointment to this position was a "natural," for the country not only got the services of an excellent jurist, but Taft was able to more than restore the prestige he had lost in the 1912 campaign. "The office of Chief Justice," this ex-head of the nation said, "has more hard work connected with it than the Presidency, or, at any rate, more of a sustained intellectual effort. I like it better. There is not the nervous drain in it that the President has to stand."



Ex-Presidents have done valuable work in education. Thomas Jefferson, founder of the University of Virginia, stands in the front rank. And when the cornerstone of his pet institution was laid, Madison and Monroe were present with him. All three of these men at one time or another held important positions at Virginia. Tyler for thirty-five years was on the Board of Visitors of William and Mary. He was president of this board for a time and at one period was chancellor of the college. Western Reserve University was one of Hayes' interests. Cleveland gave the Stafford Little Lecture on Public Affairs at Princeton University and was a trustee of the institution. Coolidge took great interest in Amherst College, of which he was a trustee. And Mr. Hoover, our only living ex-President, helps Stanford University and has fathered the Hoover Institute and the Library on War, Revolution and Peace located there.

Every ex-President physically able to do so has taken an active part in politics, or has at times put in his word for what he appeared to consider the good of the nation. During Landon's ill-fated campaign for the Presidency in 1936, Hoover, rebuffed by the reception he received at Republican National Headquarters over his offer to make speeches for them, went ahead nevertheless and spoke as an independent person. Today, though seventy-eight years of age, he continues to take a keen interest in the affairs of his party and nation, and is generally regarded as one of the country's elder statesmen.

Cleveland, John Quincy Adams and Andrew Johnson were notably successful in national politics after leaving the White House. Cleveland heads the list in this field. Defeated for a second term while in office, he ran again four years later and landed back in his old position.

John Quincy Adams had been home less than two years when he ran for the House of Representatives and was elected. He stayed there for seventeen years, until his death, which occurred in the Speaker's office in the Capitol. Andrew Johnson, the only President ever impeached, though dire threats of such proceedings were filed against some others, escaped by hair's breadth from being kicked out of his high office. Yet he returned to Greenville, Tenn., his home town, where eight years before a banner across its main street had screamed, "Andrew Johnson, Traitor," and soon was in the race for U. S. Senator. Defeated, he became a candidate for Congressman-at-Large. Given the brush-off for this job, he turned again to the Senate and eventually was elected. Johnson returned to Washington and took his seat among some of the very Senators who had voted to oust him from the White House.

Five ex-Presidents were living on the ominous eve of the War Between the States. Four of them stood ready to do what they could to save the country. The fifth, Van Buren, was seventy-eight years of age and by this time seems to have lost interest in both patriotism and politics. Tyler, although later to become a Confederate Congressman, worked very hard

to prevent the break. Pierce, among other efforts, sent this poignant telegram to the Governor of the Old Dominion: "Virginia can yet save her children."

Since this nation began, twenty-four Presidents, not including Truman, have dropped back into the ranks of ordinary citizens. Though once the most important persons in a great nation, they have gone back with entire self-respect to rub shoulders with other private citizens. They are neither adorned with glittering titles nor have they special privileges or subsidies. When they speak, it is from the ranks and not from the Capitol or the White House. They claim nothing except what their individual efforts will entitle them to. This is what the fathers of our nation intended. This is true democracy. As Calvin Coolidge put it: "We draw our Presidents from the people. It is a wholesome thing for them to return to the people. I came from them. I wish to be one of them again."

"Let him," said Rutherford B. Hayes, speaking of the retired Chief Executive,

like every other good American citizen, be willing and prompt to bear his part in every useful work that will promote the welfare and the happiness of his family, his town, his State and his country. With this disposition he will have work enough to do . . .

For the sake of our future Executives in the White House, the question, "What shall we do with our ex-Presidents?" should perhaps be allowed to die a natural death. For there are many sides to every question; and remember, the suggestion has already been made that our ex-Presidents be taken out onto five-acre lots and shot.

## Documents and innuendoes

**Robert C. Hartnett**

**I**N HIS LETTER to the editor last week (AM. 12/13, p. 316), Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy denied that the documentation he used in his October 27 TV address from Chicago, smearing Governor Stevenson, had been unavailable to the press. He also objected to the statement of the present writer that "the speech reeked with innuendoes."

These are secondary issues. The main contention of "Pattern of GOP victory" (AM. 11/22, pp. 208-210), in so far as it dealt with Senator McCarthy's tactics, was this: the attempt to smear Governor Stevenson by saying that the *Daily Worker* was notably more tolerant of his candidacy than of that of General Eisenhower was contradicted by the editorial appearing in the October 19 issue of the *Worker*. This writer is content to let his readers judge whether or not the

additional evidence presented in these pages last week substantiated his criticism of the Senator on this score.

#### DOCUMENTS AVAILABLE TO THE PRESS

Did Senator McCarthy make his documents available to the press after his Chicago TV address?

In his November 22 article in these pages, this writer said that he did not. His authority for the statement was the following passage in a report from Chicago by Murray Kempton, appearing in the *New York Post* for October 28:

... After the ceremonies, your reporter proceeded to the dais with a view to finding out: (A) the exact language of the *Daily Worker's* indorsement of Stevenson; (B) who paid for those telephone calls from Wechsler [editor of the *Post*] to the Springfield Kremlin.

Unfortunately for your further enlightenment on the complete details of the conspiracy, Joe's clique pressed around him with such passion that it was necessary for an attendant to explain that his side still hurt and that he had to make a plane. By that time Surine had disappeared with the documents, which are still open to any of Joe's friends in the press pertinacious enough to knock Surine down and steal the files, if they can find him.

Over the telephone Mr. Kempton verified that such was his experience. He said he asked the Senator's assistant for a chance to examine the documents and was told: "I'm terribly sorry, but the Senator has to catch a plane."

After putting through several long-distance calls, this writer talked to a reporter in Chicago who did get to see the documents. He said the Senator hurried off to an upstairs room and that he, the reporter, had to push his way in—but he did get to see the alleged documentation. (The Senator, by the way, affirmed last week in these pages: "All the photostats were taken into a room back of the speaker's stand." The Chicago reporter assured me that there was no such room.) The photostats were available, however, to a reporter determined enough to push his way through, but the place he had to go was an upstairs room, according to this witness.

My conclusion is that the documentation was made available to reporters, but at considerable inconvenience. One need not doubt Mr. Kempton's testimony about his own experience. He personally may well have been given the "brush-off."

#### THE TECHNIQUE OF INNUENDO

The Chicago reporter who did examine the documents agrees entirely with the present writer that they woefully failed to substantiate the use Senator McCarthy made of them. For understandable reasons, this reporter does not wish to be named.

The cheapest example of innuendo—incredible in a United States Senator—was his "Alger—I mean Adlai" remark. A Democratic speaker later paid the Senator back in kind by quipping: "Joseph Goebbels—I mean McCarthy." This "Alger—I mean Adlai" was no doubt

meant to be funny, but it was simply cheap innuendo.

Now let's take a couple of other examples.

Senator McCarthy dramatized the "dilapidated" barn in Massachusetts where investigators found "200,000 astounding documents" belonging to the "Communist-dominated" Institute of Pacific Relations. Among the documents found in the barn was a letter from Wm. W. Lockwood to Robert W. Barnett at the IPR office in Washington, dated October 21, 1942. The full text of this letter was published in Vol. 14 of the McCarran Committee's hearings on IPR, which appeared this year (p. 4975). It dealt with people to be invited to a conference on Asia. Here is the full text of the paragraph from which the Senator excerpted what he portrayed as damning evidence:

Another possibility we might consider is someone from Knox's or Stimson's office. Coe and Hiss mentioned Adlai Stevens [sic], one of Knox's special assistants. Hiss also suggested with some approval Harvey Bundy, former Assistant Secretary of State and now special assistant to Stimson. Then there is General Little, a Marine general formerly in China, now retired(?). Also General McGruder, whereabouts unknown. Depres suggested Admiral Hart, saying that it wouldn't be a bad idea to have someone who would give a pretty forthright and orthodox Navy view, as this view will greatly influence the postwar settlement.

Still other suggestions include Robert Sherwood, head of the OWI's Overseas Section, and Gardner Cowles.

What is this letter supposed to prove? The late Frank Knox and Henry L. Stimson were "regular" Republicans serving in Roosevelt's wartime cabinet. The fact that Coe and Hiss mentioned Adlai Stevenson means absolutely nothing subversion-wise, unless he is already assumed to have been a fellow-traveler. Gardner Cowles is a publisher whose papers supported General Eisenhower. Generals Little and McGruder and Admiral Hart seem to be loyal enough company. If everybody Alger Hiss ever mentioned in a favorable way, for any purpose whatsoever, no matter how innocuous, is to be smeared, where is this to end?

A similar innuendo relates to the charge that Mr. Stevenson, as head of the Foreign Economic Administration in Italy in 1943, helped bring Communists into the postwar Italian Government. There is nothing subversive and certainly nothing secret about this having been U. S. policy at that time. Both in France and in Italy the Communists were too strong to be kept out. They had fought in the underground. As a matter of fact, the Italian Communists made considerable strategic postwar concessions. Togliatti came out for private property, etc. By early 1947, the postwar French Government was strong enough to oust the Communists from the Cabinet. In Italy they have likewise been kept under control since 1948. In both countries it was touch and go for several years, but through the Marshall Plan the United States bolstered free Europe to a point where, if the proper policies are followed in the future, the internal threat of communism should prove manageable.

What's the mystery about all this? To suggest that Adlai Stevenson formulated U. S. policy regarding the inclusion of Communists in the Italian Government as of 1943 is a wild, entirely unproved assumption. In any case, would the Senator have preferred a civil war in Italy to purely political control of the Communists? The only purpose of this reference to Italy was to smear Governor Stevenson by innuendo.

The Chicago address was a tissue of such innuendoes. The whole idea that Mr. Stevenson's political history constituted a "jig-saw puzzle" was innuendo. The real puzzle is why Senator McCarthy succumbed to the temptation to piece together such misfit fragments of evidence into a pattern of alleged doubt about the sincerity of Adlai Stevenson's anti-communism.

#### CONCLUSIONS

It would take months of research and the space of a book fully to explore the materials Mr. McCarthy exploited and the use he put them to in his Chicago address.

Let's close with two rather important observations:

The first is that on June 1, 1950, less than five months after Mr. McCarthy's famous Wheeling, W. Va., speech on Communists in the State Department, seven outstanding Republican Senators felt called upon to issue a "declaration of conscience" objecting to his tactics. They were Senators Margaret Chase Smith (Me.), Irving M. Ives (N. Y.), Charles W. Tobey (N. H.), George D. Aiken (Vt.), Robert C. Hendrickson (N. J.), Edward J. Thye (Minn.) and Wayne L. Morse (Ore.). They declared:

Certain elements of the Republican party have materially added to this confusion in the hope of riding the Republican party to victory through the selfish political exploitation of fear, bigotry, ignorance and intolerance. There are enough mistakes of the Democrats for Republicans to criticize constructively without resorting to political smears.

In a statement of his views included in the Senate report on the *Maryland Senatorial Election of 1950*, Senator McCarthy objected to the inclusion on the committee issuing the report of Senators Smith and Hendrickson because "the issue in this investigation was practically identical to the issue involved in the declaration of conscience." This amounted to a public acknowledgment by Mr. McCarthy that the "declaration of conscience" was directed at him.

Secondly, this Senate report on the Maryland election criticized the part Senator McCarthy and his staff had played in that campaign. The report described in these terms the scope of the charges the Committee on Rules and Administration investigated:

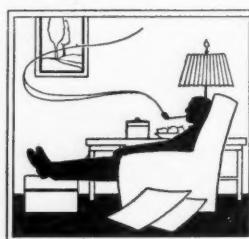
The defamation issue before this subcommittee is a novel one on the question of unseating. In the past the issues have usually been with respect to ballot frauds or excessive expenditures. They have not involved publicity efforts aimed at damaging the reputation of the rival candidate

and at creating and exploiting doubts about the loyalty to this country of an opposing candidate. Such campaign methods and tactics are destroying our system of free elections and undermine the very foundation of our Government (p. 3).

Assuredly, one does not have to regard either former Senator Millard Tydings, the target of such tactics in Maryland in 1950, or Governor Stevenson, the target of similar tactics this year, as immune from criticism in order to object to the tactics employed against them. The technique of "the big doubt" strikes me as more subtle and hence more vicious than that of the "big lie." Whether Senator McCarthy has been guilty of exploiting this technique, and the extent of his responsibility, the reader can judge.

Smear tactics tend to disgust eminent citizens from accepting or continuing in public office. They are grossly unfair. For example, John Foster Dulles could easily be smeared for his mistaken judgment of Alger Hiss, but no opponent stooped to such a low level. The "big doubt" should therefore be declared a foul in American politics. It violates our already liberal rules of what is tolerable in campaigns.

## FEATURE "X"



*In a Nov. 22 Feature "X" Anthony R. Shaw said that since the overcrowded condition of our elementary schools makes it impossible for them to teach children adequately, parents must become teachers in the home. As a preliminary step to this home teaching, he advised parents to throw out the TV set if they had one. No teaching, he maintained, could hold its own against the distracting and debasing influence of TV. We print here some excerpts from letters received in answer to Mr. Shaw.*

I do not believe banning TV would help my children grow up into well-adjusted adults. Isn't it much better to teach our children to evaluate and discriminate? And the teaching is painless when it goes with pleasure, i.e., painless for the children. I do not enjoy juvenile programs any more than I enjoyed formulas and everyday laundry when the children were infants. But I consider it one of the duties of a parent to view such programs.

Mr. Shaw makes the statement: "Take an afternoon and evening off some day and examine as many of the programs as you can." You cannot guide your children by taking an afternoon off, or even a week, any more than you can forbid them books because there are a few objectionable ones. The answer is to always try to

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know what they are seeing and hearing and, as far as possible, thinking. Of course it would spoil their fun for Mother to sit with them every time they viewed TV. But I have learned to do a great many household tasks with "one ear hanging out into the other room," not only to hear the program but to hear the children's remarks, which are much more important. Like adults, the children sometimes attach the wrong meaning to the most innocent of situations. That is where I must step in with a few words.

As anyone with children knows, every day doesn't work out quite so perfectly in practice. And I do have problems, But they are not TV.

Springfield, Mass. (Mrs.) EUNICE G. DONOVAN

I heartily endorse Anthony R. Shaw's plea to "throw out television." The TV shows for children do one of two things: they fill the child's mind with silly nonsense, or they give the child an acceptance of violence and crime. The Westerns are an example of the latter—with their cowboy heroes shooting and killing everyone in sight. Since children are born imitators, they should never see violence on the screen.

It is interesting to note that the authorities agree with Mr. Shaw. Leading child psychologists condemn movies which feature shooting and fighting. Recently in Colombia, South America, authorities forbade the showing of American cowboy movies to minors. The reason given was that "such pictures stimulate juvenile delinquency." Mr. Shaw is not alone in his condemnation of Westerns. (Mrs.) VIRGINIA ROWLAND

Grand Rapids, Mich.

I refuse to come to the defense of programs whose manners, modes and morals are indefensible. I feel that this is an area in which any God-fearing family may well indeed feel grave concern. At the same time I feel that parents must be firm in selecting the hour and the fare; that children should see the programs under the guidance and direction of the parents; that those of the public who understand the basic and cultural values of decent American living must out-shout the uninitiated in demanding wholesome entertainment.

With new channels opening up in television, and with the educational opportunities that will be offered (if we insist), I feel that Mr. Shaw will one day welcome back into his home the magic eye which distraction now prompts him to pluck out.

Bethel, Conn. JOHN R. MACDONALD

Am I oversimplifying the issue in saying that parental supervision or rather *restriction* (censorship, if you will) is the answer? Isn't it possible for parents to limit both the quantity and the quality of TV viewing by their children?

We believe that there are certain definite advantages in having a set in our home. Since we former city dwellers moved out into the "country" of Long Island (about forty miles from New York City), we

find that it is often difficult, if not impossible, to take the children to see places and things of interest. They have never seen a puppet show or "watched" an orchestra playing. Only once have they been to the zoo to meet the variety of animals pictured in their storybooks. Tall buildings make them gape like the best of country bumpkins. Surely there is something to be seen without tolerating immoral or suggestive shows. Just as there are some programs to be listened to on the radio.

It's been stated and restated often enough: while we are still in the world, we must not be of it. Would it not be more constructive and positive to apply our other-worldly standards, and jot down a note to the stations and the sponsors in favor of a wholesome program, or in protest against an objectionable one? We can each appoint ourselves a "committee of one" and do what we can to effect a change in standards, rather than withdraw completely and let the pagan ideas take over, kit and caboodle.

(Mrs.) FLORENCE VERONICA DUBNER  
East Northport, Long Island.

We've got to face up to this TV programming sooner or later, so why not a more positive, intelligent approach? The big networks are consciously trying to better their programming each month—and they are doing a better job as the months roll on: "American Inventory," "Ding-Dong School," election coverage, the United Nations, symphony, "Victory-at-Sea," science, etc. I could name many more excellent programs. Best test of a program is audience reaction. Hit advertisers where it hurts when they sponsor bad programs.

I never heard or saw Bishop Fulton J. Sheen previous to the advent of TV. Probably millions of others hadn't. Educators should forget about building and maintaining their own local TV stations. Initial cost is about \$200,000 minimum, and annual operational costs are \$100,000 minimum. Educators, Catholic educators, should pool resources and concentrate on buying commercial time over national networks, and push inferior "entertainment" out. You would then get real national coverage where it counts most.

Stratford, Conn. NEIL R. GAHAGAN

My students of high-school English wrote paragraphs describing their living-rooms at home. Many of them mentioned pictures of Christ and our Lady along with the TV sets, "the deadly evil" that Mr. Shaw deplores. Since it is desirable, but not probable, that TV will depart, could we not help the child to evaluate it in the light of the Cross; perhaps teach him to crusade for a *good* television? Taking television from the home will not be enough. A more intense emphasis on the values taught by the Crucified Christ must be the antidote for all the poisonous influences which the child must inevitably meet in later life, if he is to live in the world at all.

SISTER MARY ROSALIE  
Clarksville, Ind.

Mr. Shaw boldly states that television is "decidedly evil." I cannot see how he can make such a sweeping statement in regard to this medium of communication.

I suggest that he stop and consider the beneficial results of various Catholic programs now being presented over television.

Television is still an infant. If people would try to rear this infant in the ways of integrity and moral excellence instead of committing infanticide, perhaps it could be made to serve God instead of pandering to Mammon.

RICHARD N. PLOURDE

Detroit, Mich.

## Sean O'Casey: the final phase

**Stephen P. Ryan**

The process of disintegration in the physical world is always, despite our recognition of its inevitability, a painful and a tragic thing to watch. How much more painful, how much more tragic it is to observe the same process at work in the slow decay of a once fine literary talent. In no writer of our times is this sorry story of decline more evident than in the expatriate Irish playwright Sean O'Casey. The latest volume of his autobiography, *Rose and Crown* (Macmillan, \$4.75), marks the final stage in the career of an author who rose to the heights some thirty years ago when he broke upon the Irish literary scene with the presentation at the Abbey Theatre of his first play, *The Shadow of a Gunman*.

The Dublin-born O'Casey was a product of the slums. The first forty-five years of his life were spent amid the tenements, the crowded streets, the faded Georgian splendor of Dublin's North side, and his early work reflected the sometimes wretched, sometimes splendid lives of the Dublin poor. A close observer of the life around him, gifted with a talent for reportorial accuracy, he was working with material intensely familiar, and his intimate knowledge of the lives of the underprivileged was charged with sympathy for their lot and with righteous anger at the society which permitted unspeakable conditions to exist without protest. The rich and racy argot of the Dublin streets, the vivid portrayal of Dublin character and those sudden shifts of mood from utter misery to sheer animal enjoyment of the few good things that come the way of the slum-dweller—of such stuff was the early drama of O'Casey constructed, and great drama it was, make no mistake about it.

Following the success of *The Shadow of a Gunman*, O'Casey went on to further triumphs with his magnificent *Juno and the Paycock* (1924) and *The Plough and the Stars* (1926), the latter probably his finest achievement, despite the contrary opinions expressed by the ultra-nationalists who protested its Abbey production. The riots which took place in the theatre during the first performances of *The Plough and the Stars* were symptomatic, however, of the growing rift

## LITERATURE AND ARTS

between playwright and Abbey and between playwright and Ireland itself. Shortly after *The Plough and the Stars* was produced with all the attendant incidents, the author betook himself to England, ostensibly to assist with the London production of *Juno* but actually because of ill-disguised indignation at what he believed to be unfair treatment meted out to him by the Abbey directorate. He was, as it turned out, leaving the country of his birth forever, and his future was to be identified with the English rather than the Irish stage.

It was in London that he completed his next play, *The Silver Tassie* (1928), which, surprisingly enough, he offered to the Abbey despite the interest evidenced by London producers. The play was rejected by the Abbey. An acrimonious exchange of letters followed; the breach between O'Casey and Dublin became final; the second phase of the playwright's career was about to begin.

*The Silver Tassie* marks a turning point in O'Casey's literary development and the first indication of his decline as an artist. To begin with, we note in this drama the author's decision to abandon the realistic techniques of his earlier plays and to substitute a form of dramatic expressionism based upon the work of Strindberg and Toller. While *The Silver Tassie* is not completely unsuccessful (the second act in the Strindberg-Toller manner is something of a *tour de force*), it was obvious that O'Casey was working in a milieu where he was not completely at ease. In a word, he had cut himself off from his material—the Dublin slums—and from the successful realism which had proved itself at the Abbey.

The succeeding play, *Within the Gates* (1933),

*Mr. Ryan studied at University College in Dublin and is at present on the English faculty at Xavier University in New Orleans. He is active in the Catholic Interracial movement in that city.*

abandons the Dublin scene completely (its setting is London's Hyde Park), while it continues the expressionistic treatment begun in *The Silver Tassie*. A new, more discouraging symptom of decline now makes its appearance, however. The shift from realism to expressionism has been extended, while the theme and subject-matter of *Within the Gates* indicate the growing obsession of the playwright with the idea of drama as a vehicle for his Marxist, anti-religious propaganda: an idea which had been inherent in his work from the beginnings of his association with the theatre but which emerges for the first time as the *raison d'être* for his writing.

Fully to understand this preoccupation with communism, anti-clericalism, and opposition to organized religion, it is necessary to consider briefly O'Casey's early life in Dublin. His years as a common laborer had convinced him of the need for a crusade to right the wrongs of labor and for a new economic system which would assure the common man his share of this world's goods. O'Casey's experiences as a clerk in Dublin mercantile establishments and as a ganger on the Great Northern Railway had further led him to the conviction that there was an urgent need for labor to organize for its protection. He was an early supporter of the Irish labor leader James Larkin and took an active part in the great General Strike of 1912. He also helped James Connolly to organize the Irish Citizen Army, but his interest waned when he discovered that its aims were nationalistic rather than pro-labor. As a result, he resigned from the ranks and did not share in the Army's participation in the bloody events of Easter Week, 1916.

O'Casey had found his panacea for the ills of labor and his hope for the future of the common man in Marxist communism. He has written in his autobiography of his initial experience with Marxism and of the wave of hope which ran through him when first he read *The Communist Manifesto*. The damage was done; long before he left Ireland he had become an active Communist sympathizer. Those early leanings are present as far back in his career as *The Plough and the Stars*, where the Young Covey extols the classless state and then ridicules Clitheroe for the latter's willingness to allow the Citizen Army to be taken over by the nationalists.

Along with his espousal of Marxist doctrine went the assumption that religion is the institution most responsible for man's economic woes. Some unbelievably callous treatment at the hands of a Church of Ireland minister during his boyhood did little to discourage O'Casey from his later belief that ministers of religion are the natural enemies of the poor and the natural allies of the rich. As the church of the great majority of the people of Ireland, the Roman Catholic communion has come in for his fiercest denunciation. It should be noted here that the playwright was never a Catholic himself but was reared in the faith of the

Church of Ireland (Anglican); he is not, as many of his critics have believed, a "fallen-away Catholic."

By the time *Within the Gates* had been produced, O'Casey was openly professing his Marxist affiliations, and the plays that succeeded it were frankly propaganda pieces. *Purple Dust* (1940) and *The Star Turns Red* (1940) are not only avowedly Marxist but anti-religious to the point of blasphemy. The playwright takes the party line and trains his guns on religion as the enemy of progress, the one great block to the ultimate establishment of the classless society which the Marxist dialectic demands. With all this concentration on his "message" the author begins to show signs of deterioration as an artist. Plot, setting and characterization are sacrificed to the exigencies of propaganda, and the old flair for language is now conspicuous by its absence.

There was a brief return to an older, happier manner in *Red Roses for Me* (1942), where Dublin scene and Dublin character again come into their own, and there are snatches of the dialog which enlivened the Abbey plays, but the leftist, anti-religious tone spoils the total effect. *Oak Leaves and Lavender* (1946) is interesting because it is

a direct negation of the pacifism once evidenced so strongly in *The Silver Tassie*. One might well ask how much the new attitude was dictated by the Soviet-British alliance of the last war. As a play, *Oak Leaves and Lavender* certainly added nothing to O'Casey's reputation and failed miserably in its London production. *Cock-a-Doodle-Dandy* (1949) has, to the best of my knowledge, been produced but once—at the Dallas Little Theatre. It is not really a play at all, but an anti-religious tirade which illustrates only too clearly the depths to which the author has fallen.

In 1939 appeared the first volume of the O'Casey autobiography, *I Knock at the Door*. The author had done some nondramatic writing before—short stories, criticism and poetry—but there were no indications that he possessed any particular literary talents outside the field of drama. Here now, however, was something new and different. *I Knock at the Door* covered the years of the playwright's boyhood in Dublin and was a literary sensation. In trenchant, vivid prose O'Casey traced the story of his early life: a story at once human, pitiful and courageous. In the book's pages we meet his splendid mother, the prototype of "Juno," we learn of the bitter lot of the poor and we read of personal experiences almost too poignant, too terrible to be entrusted to print. Here was an achievement worthy to rank with the important autobiographies of our time.

*Pictures in the Hallway* (1942) carried on the story through O'Casey's adolescence and young manhood. The same vivid prose, the flashes of brilliant writing are again present. All the misery of the slums come through to us, clearly and painfully. The young O'Casey takes his first job, and we are exposed to a sobering picture of what employment could mean in



Dublin around the turn of the century. The first traces of the author's literary leanings are discovered, and we learn of his early love for the theatre, a love which was to lead him to the Abbey and ultimately to international fame.

Volume III, *Drums under the Windows* (1946), brought the O'Casey life up to the period of his interest in the labor movement, his first contacts with the doctrines of Marx, and his short-lived enthusiasm for the Citizen Army, the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Gaelic League; and the work closes with the tragic events of Easter Week, 1916. The fire is still there, the recitation well-paced and meaningful; but two new notes mar the book's artistry. To begin with, *Drums under the Windows* is written in a pseudo-Joycean style which the author has persisted in ever since, a style almost freakish in its word-coinage and its obscurity. Then too, the bitterness is now more patent, the hatred of religion more obvious and the leftist sympathies more in evidence than ever.

*Inishfallen, Fare Thee Well* (1949) is the one volume of the autobiography which normally should have had the greatest appeal to the many who admired O'Casey the dramatist, for it centers about his first appearance at the Abbey and the beginnings of his work as a playwright. But the hatred deep within the author's mind and heart begins to spill over in earnest, so that what might have been the interest-laden tale of a writer's struggles, successes and failures becomes instead an angry attack upon the Abbey directors and those very Abbey actors who did most to insure his success, for never was playwright so well served by his actors as O'Casey. It all adds up to an ill-conceived and malicious flow of bad language directed against the many who befriended him when he most needed help. The collapse of the artist is now almost complete. The Joycean techniques are stilted and obvious, the language no longer colorful and picturesque but savagely brutal and inartistically pungent; and what was once genuine satire has degenerated into mere invective.

With the most recent volume, *Rose and Crown* (1952), the O'Casey star has reached its nadir. Nothing is left but the mouthings, the meaningless ravings of a tired, bitter man who has never learned the art of forgiveness, has never attained the mellowness we expect from the old and wise. The book begins with the rejection of *The Silver Tassie* by the Abbey, and the author gets another opportunity to renew his charges against the directorate and to republish sections of the letters written during the controversy. It continues through the writing and production of *Within the Gates* and concludes with the description of the author's visit to the United States.

The attack on organized religions, the Catholic Church in particular, has assumed the proportions of an obsession; the old charges are renewed, and new and equally unfounded canards are added. The vigorous, racy style of the past is completely absent, and what were once sallies of wit have become the half-

insane innuendoes of senility. Gone is the man who created Juno, Joxer Doly, Fluther Good and Uncle Pether, the man who made us see through his observant eye the life he knew so well in the Dublin tenements. The man who once wrote: "Sacred Heart o' Jesus, take away our hearts o' stone, and give us hearts o' flesh! Take away this murdherin' hate, and give us Thine own eternal love"—this man can now descend so low as to write: "The roman catholics" [sic] delightful manifestation of the Sacred Heart all burning with fervent love for men! A contradiction of thermos [sic]."

So a once great literary figure has come to the end of the road. He can sink no lower, write no worse, prostitute his talents no further, utter no more terrible blasphemies. His star, the red star, as faded from the heavens. This man, once proud and competent, is now, if we can credit Douglas Hyde, little more than a hack writer for the British Communist party. One thing is certain: he has forfeited all right to consideration as a man of letters.

### Bread and Wine

As the bread of hunger is feast,  
Water is wine of thirst.

But, other than this, bread  
Broken is Body unbled.

And, just as this, wine  
In wholly Blood divine.

Water, beside all this,  
Miracle's wine is.

In addition, hunger is fed  
Not by bread alone bread.

Water is wine is Blood;  
Bread is Body is food.

### Presence

In grained rock, even, in stark grain  
Staggered like lightning in a granite vein,  
The Grainer's hand has stenciled, scar-deep, reign  
Of His right and reason, His right-hand staunchly  
plain.

And in the thorniest bush His brilliance burns  
As sure as roses ranged in china urns,  
Or petals pressed in pages no one turns;

Or in the brambles thundered thistles fell  
To; center of the chaos cyclones swell.

He stars the stony silence of a bell.

JOHN FANDEL

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## Two behind the Iron Curtain

### ANATOMY OF A SATELLITE

By Dana Adams Schmidt. Atlantic-Little, Brown. 512p. \$5

Mr. Schmidt, a veteran foreign correspondent of the *New York Times* who covered Communist Czechoslovakia for a little more than one year, from April, 1949 to May, 1950, has produced a book in many ways typical of American journalism.

He has a sharp eye for many an interesting detail. He characterizes with much ability the process of the cultural transformation of Czechoslovakia. His style is vivid and picturesque. Above all, he conveys to the reader the atmosphere—hardly imaginable to the citizens of a free country—of a land upon which the dark curtain of the totalitarian regime has descended. What he has to say on the administration, the new education, the political trials, the workers who turn against their party, is illuminating. Because of these qualities the book is worth the attention of any student of current history.

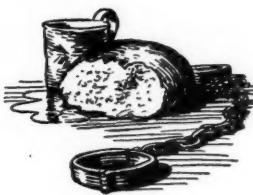
And yet *Anatomy of a Satellite* includes many hastily contrived pieces of information and much altogether false information. The author's illustrations from the past of the Czechs and Slovaks are rather amusing. In the battle of the White Mountain, we learn, the Hussites were defeated by the Hapsburgs (p. 63); what about the defeat of the Pilgrim Fathers by Grant at Gettysburg? And so, paragraph after paragraph, this hilarious "history" trails on.

According to Mr. Schmidt, "the word got around" to the ears of American diplomats as early as January, 1948 that "the Czech secret police had established direct liaison with the secret police of the Soviet Union." The present reviewer was jailed by the Russian police on Czechoslovak territory in February, 1946. Ivan Micura, Msgr. Volosin and other democratic leaders of pre-war Czechoslovakia were seized by the same police and transported to Siberia during the summer of 1945, when Hubert Ripka, Václav Majer and other Socialist statesmen—whose "invaluable assistance" Mr. Schmidt appreciates in his introduction—were leading members of the Czechoslovak Government.

All this is perhaps irrelevant to the student of the contemporary situation, who may gain much from Mr. Schmidt's personal experiences. But as soon as it comes to conclusions, the same aversion to study which characterizes the author's historical sketches is again evident. Mr. Schmidt's main

conclusion concerning the present situation in Czechoslovakia is that the Kremlin, observing the progressively declining productivity and a growing resistance to Russian economic demands, has made considerable concessions to Czechoslovak nationalism. The trusted Muscovite agents, headed by Slansky, have been sacrificed, and nationalists such as Gottwald have been entrusted with power. An attempt is also made by Mr. Schmidt to bring forward another, additional reason for the recent purges—anti-Semitism.

This theory, plausible enough at first sight, will hardly prove satisfactory when applied generally. Clementis, the successor of Jan Masaryk, was a "nationalist" Communist and not a Jew, and yet he was hanged with Slansky. Matyas Rákosi in Hungary and Hilarius Minc in Poland are Jews and yet they still work unmolested.



A more probable explanation is perhaps not so obvious but it is certainly evident to students of the history of the satellites. The story of their Communist parties may be summed up as one long struggle between the ideologists who knew their Marx and the blind tools of the Kremlin bosses. So far, the ideologists have always lost. By some chance it has so happened that there were many Jews among these "thinking" Communists who tried desperately to put Marx's theory and the future of the Communist society above orders from the Kremlin.

Both Clementis and Slansky were such ideologists. Gottwald and Zapotocky are no intellectuals and they will last for some time. As to the dissatisfaction of the workers, Mr. Schmidt should know that at no time has Moscow made any compromises with them. It may temporize with Western statesmen, but never with its own slaves.

BOHDAN CHUDOBA

### THE ACCUSED

By Alexander Weissberg. Translated by Edward Fitzgerald. Simon & Schuster. 507p. \$4

The author, an Austrian-Jewish scientist, gives us a personal account of his experience with the land of socialism.

## BOOKS

As an individual human being he certainly deserves compassion for his sufferings and appreciation for his will to resist the barbarous methods used by the political police in the Soviet Union to extort confessions. We cannot, however, agree with the general line of argumentation in his bulky and rather verbose book.

The story of Mr. Weissberg is that of a Marxist who witnessed Marxism in practice. Like many of his fellow intellectuals, he has not had the moral courage to admit his complicity in establishing a totalitarian rule by advocating Marxism and actively helping to force it on the Russian people. Instead he invented a scapegoat for all the failures and atrocities of Marxism in the USSR. It is no other than J. V. Stalin who is responsible for the present results of "applied" socialism.

This version has been monotonously repeated, but not all readers have such short memories as to forget that the Marxist upheaval began in 1917. Historic events easily prove that it was not Stalin who corrupted Marxism but Marxism that corrupted Stalin, and for that matter each person who embraces its doctrines and follows them consistently.

It is symptomatic that Mr. Weissberg's book starts with the Great Purge of 1937 and passes over in complete silence the millions of human victims sacrificed by the Communist regime from 1917 on, beginning with the exterminated clergy, aristocracy and middle classes during the supposedly "humanitarian" period of Lenin's rule and ending with the holocaust of forcible collectivization, which alone cost Russia from ten to fifteen million human lives.

When some comrades themselves began to doubt about the sanity of the Socialist "experiment," they had to be reminded very thoroughly by the great leader himself that the only thing that mattered was the ultimate triumph of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism and that there was no time for getting sentimental about freedom.

All the nonsense about the democratic, freedom-loving type of Marxism, supposedly formulated by Marx and Socialist theoreticians and applied by Lenin in Russia (as opposed to Stalin's totalitarianism), should not confuse a Christian who knows his Gospels. Didn't our Lord give a lesson to the Pharisees about the impossibility of casting out the devil by Beelzebub?

ANDRE GORDON

## *Two views of Russia*

### **A RELUCTANT TRAVELLER IN RUSSIA**

*By Tadeusz Wittlin.* Rinehart. 280p. \$3

This is a remarkable account of a Polish writer's experiences in a Siberian slave labor camp prior to the start of World War II.

It is gripping, well-told and reads easily. The author does not shock by vivid but routine description of the tortures and cruelty of which we have already heard so much. He does not

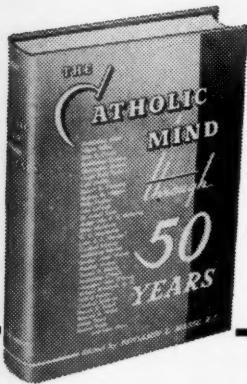
employ the techniques of sensational exposés. His attack upon Stalinism is not a criminal record, swollen with brutal details. Somewhat like George Orwell, he prefers to demonstrate the crowning horror of Stalinism—how the flexible human spirit can be brought to endure a diabolical system.

Mr. Wittlin testifies to the triumphant resiliency of men and women under maximum adversity. He also testifies to the incredible efficiency of Stalin's police state in stifling individual dignity and hope. When political expediency decreed the establishment of a Polish Army drawn from Poles in the Siberian camps, many Poles preferred to accept the alter-

native of remaining in the camps with promotion to the status of a free, well-paid worker. These were the prisoners who had ameliorated their situation by turning informer. Such informers were easily obtained, for there were no friends in slave camps. Every individual cut himself free from sentimentalities, adapted himself to a level of subsistence unfit for pigs, and stretched out his existence far beyond any normal expectation.

It is the manner in which individuals came into adjustment to Stalin's slave system that forms the core of Mr. Wittlin's book. It is less a biographical account than a study, bitter and sardonic, of naked, hopeless human animals.

The author reached England during the war. One wonders how long it took him to recover the ironic humor and understatement that make his book so engrossing. R. W. DALY



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### **THE RUSSIAN MENACE TO EUROPE**

*By Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.  
Edited by Paul W. Blackstock and  
Bert F. Hoselitz.* The Free Press,  
Glencoe, Ill. 288p. \$3.75

Present-day Russia is repugnant, first, because its Government is despotic and second, because its foreign policy is aggressive and expansionist. Why is it so? One of the simplest explanations is: Russia is both today because it always was both.

The second of the twin themes is the topic of the book under review. It is, however, not a new book, but a collection of papers written by Marx and Engels from 1848 to 1894, preceded by an introduction and annotated in scholarly fashion by the editors. The papers are arranged topically, the particular topics being Russia and Europe, Panslavism, the Polish question and the Crimean war. Of these, the last is most important since at the time the paper was written Russia's aggressiveness was in an acute stage, while in the other papers only her virtual aggressiveness could be treated.

It is in relation to the Crimean war (1853-56) that Marx and Engels made a statement aimed at inculcating fear into the hearts of all good Europeans (among them, all good revolutionists): since Peter the Great, Russia had advanced toward Berlin and Vienna by about 700 miles. This statement was "discovered" five years ago by Secretary of State James Byrnes when he was writing his *Speaking Frankly*. There, the statement was expanded to say that, from 1853 to 1914, Russia conquered 971,277 square miles.

These seem to be strong arguments

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in favor of the theory that Russia has been intrinsically and incorrigibly expansionist. Of course she was expansionist; but so were other great nations.

From 1853 to 1914, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Belgium partitioned among themselves the continent of Africa. And, from the day the United States gained independence to the end of the Mexican war, it advanced toward the Pacific by approximately 1,500 miles. These facts put Russia's alleged ultra-expansionism into the right perspective: the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were, in general, a period of the consolidation of national states and colonial empires.

This may not be a valid justification of the conquests made by Russia and other Powers, but it disposes of the idea that Russia always was a particular villain.

Today, she is; but she has become one after having imbibed the teaching of the German revolutionists who had warned the world against Russia. They did this only because Russia was an obstacle to the international Communist revolution, to promote which they spent all their energy. In 1917 that revolution broke out in Russia, with well-known results.

The papers reprinted in the volume allow the reader to gain additional insight into the mentality of the two revolutionists; both were "red Prussians" (as one of them has been called in a recent biography). Some of the papers speak the language of racial theory, extolling the Germans (and, in addition, the Poles and the Hungarians, in whom the author saw an explosive force), expressing contempt of the small Slavic nations, which, in their opinion, had no reason to exist, and preaching hatred against Russia, which they wanted to explode by revolution.

To the last of these ideas a special group of papers is devoted which stands apart from the main topic and is entitled "Class struggle in Russia." These little-known papers are of great interest since they display the oscillation of the minds of the founding fathers of Marxism between historical determinism in the style of Marxian orthodoxy and wishful thinking about the possibility of Russia becoming the scene of the first social revolution, on the pre-capitalist foundation of her agrarian communities.

It is noteworthy that the Russian Marxists, among them Lenin, did not accept that idea and insisted that capitalism was a necessary stage of transition. It was only when he saw the opportunity to seize power that Lenin changed his mind, to the consternation of his lieutenants.

The Communist revolution came about in Russia in a way entirely at variance with the reasoning of the fathers of Marxism, and the consequences have also not been those expected. The reader of the papers is once again shown the poor predictive power of Marxism. Of course, this was not the objective of the editors, who seem to be authorities on Marxian writings and unqualified admirers of the Marxian doctrines.

N. S. TIMASHEFF

## One view of Republicanism

**WILLKIE: The Events He Was Part of—The Ideas He Fought for.**

*By Joseph Barnes.* Simon & Schuster. 405p. \$5

With the Republican party again called to accept new leadership, no one desiring perspective on the present situation will want to miss this stimulating volume. Wendell Willkie's 1940 acceptance speech contained the key to his astonishing appeal. "The ability to grow, the ability to make things," he said, "is the measure of man's welfare on earth. . . I am a liberal because I believe that in our industrial age there is no limit to the productive capacity of any man."

What kind of man was this bushy-browed, wild-haired Hoosier? He began as the familiar businessman-lawyer and by pressure of circumstances became in a short time the unofficial spokesman for the steadily growing business revolt against the New Deal. Less articulate business magnates considered Willkie one of them because he was the only businessman with real appeal to the country at large. In this way he captured the Republican nomination in 1940, though he had been a registered Democrat as late as 1938.

There were, however, vital differences between Willkie's ideas and those of his more conservative followers. While the latter were restricting production and combining to avoid competition, he was trying to spread the gospel of expanding opportunities for business in creating a higher standard of living. Socially, he was intensely concerned all his life with civil rights and freedom of thought and expression, social goods which have not been noticeably congenial to the American businessman. In short, his was a free, independent mind of extraordinary vitality and capacity for growth.

It is now apparent that Willkie's attempt to make the Republican party face the future was unsuccessful, since the "back-to-Harding" wing imme-

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diately regained control after the 1940 election. But even in defeat Willkie won a major victory. By polling more votes for his program of productivity and freedom than any Republican Presidential candidate before or after him, until the Eisenhower landslide, he helped mightily "to keep the American political system, for at least another decade, from freezing into a clear conservative-radical alignment." Never rewarded even by the respect of the party he did so much to revive, Willkie nevertheless became a vital force in American life—a force of perhaps greater importance today than twelve years ago.

A friend of Willkie, a companion on his "One World" trip and a former foreign editor of the *Herald Tribune*, Mr. Barnes has written a masterly and astute biography. The only lack, in this reviewer's opinion, is an adequate appraisal of Willkie's early years in Indiana, for which the author can likely plead lack of available information. In his thoughtful analysis of political trends and painstaking exposition of such unexplored grounds as the *Commonwealth and Southern* vs *TVA* struggle, the factors behind the 1940 nomination, and Willkie's relationship to FDR, Barnes has combined perfectly the journalist's leg-work and the scholar's respect for stubborn fact.

M. D. REAGAN

with this method, which is the one necessarily followed, in one form or another, in government departments.

As Dr. Pasvolsky states in his preface, the primary responsibility for training future specialists in governmental service lies with the universities. These students should be made familiar with the methods of conducting the foreign relations of the nations, notably in the determination of policy. In the hands of teachers, especially those who have themselves served a period in Government service, the present volume serves as an instrument of first-rate value to this end.

*Major Problems* is the product of the Brookings' own staff, as corrected or tested in a series of seminars held in various parts of the country last year. It is not easy reading, even for those who have the necessary factual background to understand the issues. This only proves that policy formulation calls for reflection and analysis, and that the accumulation of data is only the first step to the successful conduct of this nation's affairs.

## Notices

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The general organization of this year's edition follows that of previous issues. A good deal of repetition has been inevitable on some of the less variable aspects of U. S. foreign policy. However, even in this section of the work it is noteworthy that the Brookings staff have thought it opportune to strengthen their discussion on the role that principles, especially moral ones, have played in our tradition.

A problem paper on raw materials and national policy closes the volume and illustrates at the same time the method inculcated in this series of publications. There is a bibliography and index. Even outside of the university this book, like its predecessors, is a handy reference guide, especially for those in public affairs.

ROBERT A. GRAHAM

#### SIRONIA, TEXAS

By Madison Cooper. Houghton, Mifflin. 2 vol. 1,731p. \$10

While Sironia, a fictional town of Texas, grows from a population of 5,000 to 40,000 during the years 1900-1921, Tam Lipscombe passes from infancy to manhood. Son of the owner of the general store, he is chosen as hero of this tale largely because he "is as near our 'average' Sironian as a man can get." Another point that qualifies him for his starring role is the facility with which he becomes involved in almost every spicy and disreputable adventure that occurs in Sironia.

And spicy they are. Caleb Hone, editor of the *Sironia Sentinel* and avid collector of local gossip, often regrets that Sironia's only interesting news is news that is not fit to print. Madison Cooper has spent his spare time for the past eleven years proving that what a newspaper cannot print, a novelist can. The result is a rambling, peripheral recital of crime, corruption, and violence—one that the author's home town of Waco, Texas (where he has resided all his life) will be quick to disown.

Surely no real town ever spawned so vast a brood of faithless spouses, casual rappers, engaging prostitutes, and prematurely decadent adolescents. One wonders when our Southern writers will cease propagating the legend that the Mason-Dixon line is the upper border of a trackless jungle where hairy gorillas make chase after the female species. Southerners surely resent it; Northerners are tired of being asked to believe it.

The sad part is that Madison Cooper is a writer endowed with fine talents. The narrative is extremely readable;

the dialog has an authentic ring that gives to many of his characters a vitality not common in a first novel; and the author has a genuine feeling for the flow of dramatic action.

Out of the exasperating tangle of interwoven plots which go to make up this sprawling literary monster of 1,731 pages, he could have salvaged several short, worth-while novels, had he the sense of structure and the below-the-surface vision required for each. One could have been a comedy of manners on the dying aristocracy of the South; another could have set forth the insolubles of the race problem; still another could have portrayed the anguish and ultimate deterioration of a boy brought up in a vice-town under the example of a kind but morally un-reformed father.

Instead, he has stirred together the scattered elements of all three "possible" novels, and the entire brew is heavily saturated with the strong wine of sex. The result is neither artistically nor morally satisfying. First-rate novels require an insight more penetrating and an organization more compact than are had in the whispered gossip of a small-town exhuming of family skeletons. Until he attains these higher gifts, Mr. Cooper had better peddle his wares in pulp.

JOSEPH LANDY

#### PRACTICE: A POOL OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE

By Rudolph J. Knoepfle, S.J. (ed.). Loyola Univ. Press. 358p. \$2.50

Every alert teacher is on the lookout for ways of varying his routines and especially of converting his class from a defensive into an offensive platoon in the game of acquiring an education.

This ingenious volume will help him to solve these problems. It consists of 245 snappy, summary presentations of teaching techniques which about 175 Jesuit high-school teachers have found successful in their own classroom practice. The contents first appeared in a little privately circulated periodical that bore the same title.

Three-fifths of the pedagogical suggestions deal with the teaching of English, public speaking and the classical languages—Latin and Greek. The remainder deal with religion, the social sciences (mostly history), the physical sciences and with general classroom procedures.

High-school teachers are facing stiffer competition all the time. Everything from original sin to TV seems leagued against them in their high vocation of trying to interest adoles-

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## CHRIST AND WOMANKIND

BY PETER KETTER, D.D.—One of the finest books ever published on the subject of women, their rights, privileges, responsibilities and their fundamental role in the Christian world. Dr. Ketter's work was first issued in Germany in 1935. A British edition appeared in 1937 but was given little distribution in the United States. A product of sound scholarship, this study brings home effortlessly but forcefully the teaching of Christ and His Church concerning womankind. The book is divided into four parts: The Status of Woman before Christ; Christ's Gift to and Requirements of Womankind; Individual Women in the Life of Jesus, and Women of the Apostolic Age.

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cents in the conventional subject-matter of secondary schooling. This book does more than help teachers to capture the interest of their charges. It also illustrates how eager many Catholic teachers are to get better results, and how resourceful they are in devising effective methods to that end. It is hard to imagine a high-school teacher whose classroom procedures could not be bettered by consulting *Practice*.

One special feature is a 16-page list of books for students of the classics. The volume is a beautiful example of the bookmaking art.

ROBERT C. HARTNETT

**THE BACKGROUND OF MODERN POETRY**, by J. Isaacs (Dutton. \$2.50). The six chapters of this book were originally written as lectures of the "Third Program" of the B.B.C. The purpose is to explain the background of "direction" in modern poetry, and the author handles it under headings like "What is Modernity?", "How It Strikes a Contemporary," "The Poetry of T. S. Eliot," "Achievement and Direction," and so on. There are perceptive thoughts, interesting historical facts and an alive understanding of English poetry. To *John Fandel*, Mr. Isaacs dispels many of the bogey men of modern poetry and prepares the com-

mon reader to be more sympathetic by understanding intelligently what modern poetry is. "For those who already know, and those who would like to know about modern poetry, this is a good book."

### **Recommended for the marriage and family shelf**

**THE SINGLE WOMAN**, by John Lawrence (Little, Brown. \$3.50). The author, a priest, discusses intelligently and with a much needed insistence on the primacy of spiritual values, such problems as careers, compensations, ideals. This book should give invaluable help to those who are faced with the simple fact of a single life. There is much sane criticism of the exaggerations about frustration and so on found in many books dealing with the same subject.

**WOMAN TODAY**, by John Fitzsimons (Sheed & Ward. \$2.50). Another priest tries a somewhat larger field in his discussion of the feminist movement and the education of women. The book is notable for its fine translations of recent papal allocutions touching on the subject.

**MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY**, by Clement S. Mihanovich, Gerald J. Schnepp, S.M., and Rev. John L. Thomas, S.J. (Bruce. \$4.25). This volume, by the members of the Department of Sociology of St. Louis University, is a very complete and scholarly discussion that covers almost all aspects of the problem. Included, for example, are Church laws on marriage, the questions of interracial marriage and mixed marriage, statistics on population, on families in households.

**YESTERDAY, TODAY AND FOREVER**, by Maria-Augusta Trapp (Lippincott. \$3). The mother of the famous Trapp Family Singers tells how she described the life of the Holy Family to her children as they were growing up. Here is an admirable example of a family's communal development in the spiritual life.

**OUR TEEN-AGERS: HOW TO SURVIVE THEM**, by Alvina Burnite (Bruce. \$2.95). Common sense and a good dash of humor salt these chapters of advice for parents. The author is both a parent of teen-agers and a social worker.

**PLEASE EXCUSE JOHNNY**, by Florence McGehee (Macmillan. \$3.50). The adventures of a "hookey cop" in a rural section of California offer sane and warm samples of her dealings with children of various racial and

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BOHDAN CHUDOBA, a former member of the Czech Parliament, is now on the history faculty at Iona College, New Rochelle.

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the realization of their sinfulness and a deep sorrow for their sins had already been aroused in their hearts by the preaching of John and their own prayerful reflection. The ceremony in the Jordan was a public avowal of their need of God's forgiveness and a brief drama to represent the cleansing which they were confident His mercy was then working in their souls. The rite also helped those who saw it to stir up within themselves repentance and the ardent desire for a spiritual renewal.

There is no doubt that John's preaching and baptism was an occasion of sanctifying grace and many actual graces for the crowds of people who flocked to him. Yet the entire efficacy of what John did depended upon his holiness and the interior dispositions of those he helped. Of itself, the baptism of John was but a symbol.

The good which the son of Zachary accomplished among the people of Judea appears clearly in the Gospel narrative. It prompted the words of Christ: "Among those born of women there has not risen a greater than John the Baptist."

Unlike John's ceremonial, the sacraments instituted by Christ actually bring about the spiritual and interior effects which they signify to the senses. Thus, baptism not only pictures the washing of the soul but by the infusion of sanctifying grace it directly banishes original sin.

The sacraments confer their grace *ex opere operato*—that is, they do not depend for their efficacy upon the personal holiness of the individual who administers them, but on Christ who operates through them. The sacraments produce their results infallibly; provided the recipient places no obstacles, the words and actions correctly performed with the right intention always effect the grace. Finally, the sacraments of Christ also give a title to a wealth of actual graces by which the recipient can protect and deepen his spiritual vitality.

Potentially, then, the member of Christ's Church is incomparably better off than the follower of the Baptist. He has ready to hand the entire sacramental system to nourish, strengthen, purify and comfort his soul. Was not this why our Lord said: "the least in the kingdom of God is greater than [John]?"

In these closing days of Advent it is most appropriate for each Catholic to consider what use he makes of these rich means of grace, so that "the crooked may be made straight and the rough ways smooth" in the progress of his own soul toward a more intimate union with God.

PAUL A. REED, S.J.

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# America's Book-Log for DECEMBER

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2. DON CAMILLO AND HIS FLOCK  
PELLEGRINI & CUDAHY. \$3 *By Giovanni Guareschi*
3. THE WORLD'S FIRST LOVE  
MCGRAW-HILL. \$3.50 *By Fulton J. Sheen*
4. LISTEN, SISTER  
MCMULLEN. \$2.75 *By John E. Moffat, S.J.*
5. THE SILVER CHALICE  
DOUBLEDAY. \$3.85 *By Thomas B. Costain*

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AKRON, Frank A. Grismer Co., 272 High St.  
BOSTON, Pius XI Cooperative, 45 Franklin St.  
BROOKLYN, Ave Maria Shop, 166 Remsen St.  
BUFFALO, Catholic Union Store, 828 Main St.  
CHICAGO, The Thomas More Association, 210 West Madison St.  
CINCINNATI, Benziger Bros., Inc., 429 Main St.  
CINCINNATI, Frederick Pustet Co., Inc., 436 Main St.  
CLEVELAND, Catholic Book Store, 906 Superior Ave.  
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## FILMS

FACE TO FACE. The "package" or built-in multiple-feature film is, among other things, a stratagem to permit the screening of stories which are not adaptable to the stringent unwritten law that feature pictures should run approximately ninety minutes. Under the cryptic title *Face to Face* are lumped together two such stories, both minor classics and both well done cinematically, but otherwise unrelated.

The first, *The Secret Sharer*, by Joseph Conrad, is a strange tale of the days of sailing ships and of the specialized code of values which bound together the men who shared the hazards of the sea. It concerns a newly appointed captain (James Mason), who risks his prestige, his command and finally even his ship and crew to assure the escape of the fugitive first mate (Michael Pate) of another ship. The mate was accused of murder. Because the two men were closely linked by the Conrad concept of the brotherhood of seafaring men, he was able to convince the captain both of his moral innocence and of his right to choose an uncertain future as a fugitive rather than the humiliation of standing trial before a court of landlubbers. In the coldly mechanical mid-twentieth century Conrad's fifty-year old certitudes seem muddle-headed and less than convincing, but the story has suspense and eloquence.

*The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky*, by Stephen Crane, which occupies the second half of the bill, turns out to have survived the passage of time better. It is a tongue-in-cheek fable about the Old West which brings about the long-expected encounter between the town's superannuated bad-man (Minor Watson) and its sheriff (Robert Preston) on the day when the latter arrives back in town with his bride (Marjorie Steele). In a very deft adaptation by James Agee, the picture crosscuts the bridal couple's mixed reactions on their railway journey with the townspeople's matter-of-fact precautions against the old man's trigger-happiness. The showdown, when it comes, has a quite unexpected result which, like the preceding events, is both comic and touching.

(RKO)

PONY SOLDIER is a nice Technicolor *family* western with a Northwest Mounted Policeman as its hero. The assignment of the Mountie in question (Tyrone Power) is to rescue

a white man and girl (Robert Horton, Penny Edwards) held captive by a hostile band of Cree Indians. Having bluffed his way into the Indian encampment, he finds his attempts at peaceful negotiation hampered both by the white man, who turns out to be a particularly nasty escaped convict, and by an equally nasty and hot-headed young brave (Cameron Mitchell).

In the name of law and order and good Queen Victoria, however, the Mountie finally gets his man—which in this case means that toward the solidification of friendly relations between white man and red man he brings the convict to justice for murdering an Indian. The picture, in its calmer moments, attempts a dignified treatment of Indian customs in the manner of *Broken Arrow* and also features a comic-relief Indian guide (Thomas Gomez) and some appealing hokum involving a small Cree orphan boy. It is in the main just a lively and uncomplicated outdoor action-piece.

(20th Century-Fox)

KANSAS CITY CONFIDENTIAL, in the manner of most modern gangster melodramas, is prefaced by the claim that it is the story behind today's crime headlines. Then, as if by way of backing up this claim, it starts off by staging a spectacular Brink-like bank holdup. The rest of the picture, despite its pretensions of authenticity, turns out to be preposterous fiction featuring the detective work of an innocent and much-abused suspect in the robbery (John Payne) and a deplorable amount of gratuitous violence and brutality.

(United Artists)

MOIRA WALSH

## THEATRE

THE SEVEN YEAR ITCH. Evidence that this may not be the best of all possible worlds is the fact there are not half as many competent playwrights as excellent actors. Indeed, some of us might be persuaded that the millennium was approaching if we had a tenth as many capable authors as we have versatile performers. In either event we would be bored by fewer chronicles of seduction and favored with more frequent opportunities to enjoy the capers of such delectable comedians as Tom Ewell.

Precisely why Mr. Ewell is not starred in the production, since he practically carries it on his shoulders, is a question Courtney Kerr and Elliott Nugent, the producers, may find dif-

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fcult to explain. He appears in almost every scene, contributing as much to the style and humor of George Axelrod's comedy as the author.

The leading character is one Richard Sherman, a summer widower whose family is away in the country. As Satan is adept at finding mischief for idle husbands to get into, it is not astonishing that the gentleman finds himself involved in an escapade with the girl upstairs. While Mr. Axelrod is hardly to be commended for making dalliance the motivating force of his comedy, there is some compensation in his judicious handling of the subject. Sherman is no wolf and the girl is not a siren; and there are no *double entendres* in the lines. Probably due to John Gerstad's circumspect direction, there are no leers, smirks or passionate clinches in the performance.

Most of the action, in fact, occurs in Sherman's mind, and much of the humor is not contingent on his extracurricular romance. Sherman is a member of a firm that publishes two-bit reprints of classics and of currently highbrow literature for the drug-store trade. In describing the difficulty of promoting *The Scarlet Letter*, he tells a visitor that after a survey showed that eighty-nine per cent of the public had never heard of the book, the title was changed to *The Adulteress*, only to discover that sixty-eight per cent had never heard of adultery. There is, also, delicious humor in his quarrel with a radio, an obvious Giant fan, which continually gloats over the frustration of his favored Dodgers.

Vanessa Brown is refreshing as a gnat-brained Lorelei, and Robert Emhardt is droll as an elephantine psychiatrist. Neva Patterson, as Mrs. Sherman, is as crisp and smartly tailored as Mrs. Peoria of 1952. Others more numerous than can be mentioned contribute their several quotas of obbligato rumor. Frederick Fox designed the settings and intricate light scheme.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

PARADE

SOMEWHAT LIKE A MAIL TRAIN, the week chugged through current history's realm, tossing out bags full of fresh events as it puffed onward. . . . The milieu was blanketed with behavior-patterns which presented myriad forms of psychological reactions. . . . Reactions to marrying in haste were on view. . . . In London, an 80-year-old citizen told the divorce court he should have asked his moth-

er's advice before rushing into marriage six months ago with a customer at his seaside "guess-your-weight" machine. The customer is 72; the mother 103. . . . Reactions to unsung graves were glimpsed. . . . In Binghamton, N.Y., a man stole a cemetery tombstone marked: "Mother," transported it to Newark, N.J., set it up on the grave of his stepfather's mother. . . . Reported also were reactions to strange environments. . . . In Alliance, Neb., a husband revealed he was so used to following his wife's back-seat instructions that when she developed laryngitis he was helpless behind the wheel. . . . As the week moved further on, it became clear that the behavior-attitudes would run the psychological gamut. . . . Attitudes toward highway traffic were criticized. . . . In London, Eng., an automobile owner was fined for shaving himself with one hand while driving with the other.

Not a few of the week's behavior attitudes caused raised eyebrows. . . . In Liverpool, Eng., a citizen entered a hospital to have a metal splinter taken from his hand. . . . Mistaking him for another patient, the surgeons took out, not the splinter, but his appendix. The citizen will have the piece of metal removed after he recovers from the appendix operation, officials stated. . . . Speakers appeared to be in a foggy state of mind. . . . In Kentucky, a lecturer on the topic: "Facts—Be Sure You've Got Them Straight," went first to the wrong town, then arrived in the right town an hour late for the lecture. . . . The week was not without unusual patterns. . . . In Pevensey Bay, Eng., a fisherman tossed an anchor into the sea in order to scare a whale away from shore. The whale swallowed the anchor, and was eventually beached. . . . Benevolent patterns emerged. . . . In Charlotte, N.C., a scientist, desirous of bringing joy to little children, announced that he was looking for a rattlesnake with a good radio personality. He said: "So few children have an opportunity to hear a snake's rattle. Oscar, the snake I had previously, was very good. He rattled continuously. Then he died. I want a snake like Oscar, one with an outstanding rattle."

As has occurred so often before, the week passed on, and another week took its place. . . . This centuries-long procession of the weeks is not, however, a permanent affair. . . . At a certain future period, there will not be any week moving through history. . . . This world is not the permanent dwelling place for the human race.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

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## CORRESPONDENCE

### For the defense

EDITOR: Those readers who have been writing you lately (11/18; 11/22) expressing fears that you are too "Democratic" show a way of thinking all too apparent in the American electorate. It is such people who become timid about the terms "democracy" and "civil rights" because at various times and to suit their own evil purposes the Communists have tried to usurp these terms. It is at such times that we who actually believe in promoting democracy and civil rights should stand firm in their defense.

Personally I hope and believe that when AMERICA expresses approval of a policy, it is because that policy is right and desirable and not because it is Democratic or Republican. If I believed otherwise, I would cease to read AMERICA. JOHN J. McDONALD

Fort Kent, Maine

EDITOR: Recent criticisms of AMERICA for allegedly favoring one political party have prompted this reader to offer a suggestion for the authors of such criticisms. I think they would do the editors and readers a great service if they would use party labels with a little more reluctance. Instead, I would like to see these people offer specific rebuttals when they disagree. This would make the Correspondence page more interesting and more enlightening.

THOMAS J. PAPE, Ens., USNR  
Naval Amphibious Base  
Coronado, Calif.

### Mauriac's view of woman

EDITOR: I would like to add something which strikes me as a strengthening note for Mr. Moloney's fine article on "Mr. Mauriac and the *New Yorker*" (AM. 11/22).

As I was reading the article and learning from the quotations of Mr. West's article therein that François Mauriac is a thorough-going misogynist, at the same time I was just finishing one of the most enthusiastic and devoted accounts of a woman's life that I've ever read. It is the story of the deep-rooted struggle of a woman to free herself from the flesh to get to God; to free herself from the flesh which she had liberally indulged during nine years as an aristocratic mistress. It is a story told with such overwhelming sympathy for the woman that I got the impression that the author was almost tempted to go beyond the realm of fact in his de-

fense of her. The book? *St. Margaret of Cortona*. The author? François Mauriac. JAMES P. HEWITT, S.J.  
Plattsburgh, N. Y.

### Correction

EDITOR: I was glad to see AMERICA and Rev. Mark Fitzgerald, C.S.C., interest themselves in "Needed: a policy for the Missouri Valley" (11/15). Very few of our leaders in the valley realize that proper development of our Missouri basin is more than a matter of "mere" geography and mud and sandbags, and that it is the basic economic need for the financial prosperity of the Valley's people as well as its schools. Lack of such policy is truly the basic economic reason for the lack of progress in our Valley.

Somehow, however, a substantial misrepresentation has crept into the article. The exact opposite of this statement is true: "The [Missouri Valley] Inter-Agency Committee advocates a valley authority similar to the outstandingly successful Tennessee Valley Authority . . ." I think it necessary to point out that the Inter-Agency Committee is strongly *against* a valley authority plan. It is important to make this correction since the Inter-Agency group is the most active group in the *present* Missouri River Basin Development Program.

(REV.) WM. G. DOWNING, S.J.  
Omaha, Nebraska

*(The error crept into the article in the course of shortening it to fit our space. We are grateful to our correspondent for affording this opportunity to make the correction. The author had already called the mistake to our attention. Sorry, Ed.)*

### Brownson sesquicentennial

EDITOR: Next year will be the 150th anniversary of the birth of Orestes A. Brownson, one of the most forceful personalities of American life and thought in the nineteenth century. It would be interesting to learn whether any Catholic organization or educational institution plans a celebration of this anniversary.

Brownson appears to be one of the forgotten men of our American Catholic heritage. It is a rare Catholic college man or woman who has read a line of him. Yet Brownson has much—very much—to offer Americans, and especially American Catholics, today.

FRANCIS E. MCMAHON  
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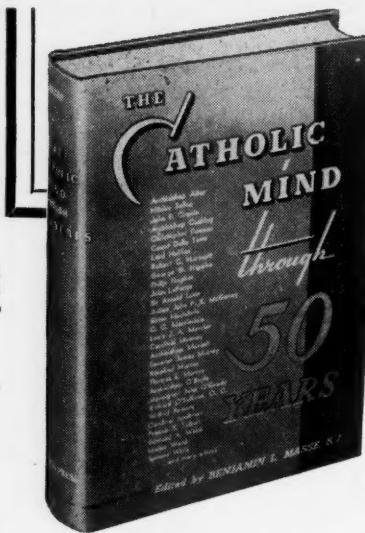
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